MAY 21, 2018

TIME

CAN BAD MEN CHANGE?

SEX CRIMES AND THERAPY

by Eliana Dockterman

Plus

WHAT TO DO WITH HARVEY, CHARLIE, MATT AND...

by Jill Filipovic

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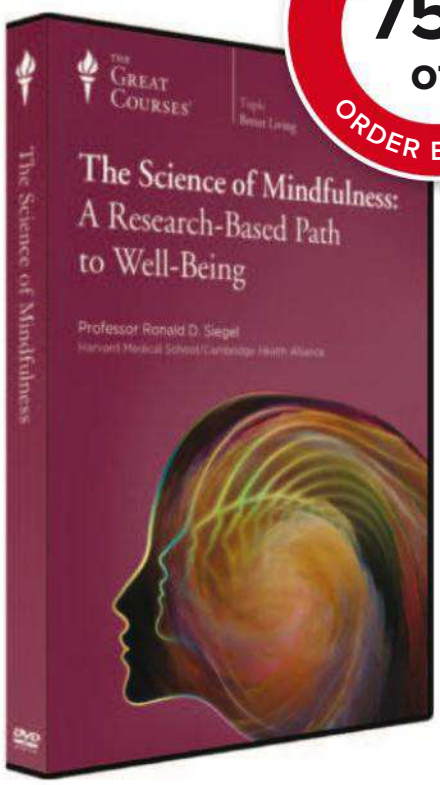

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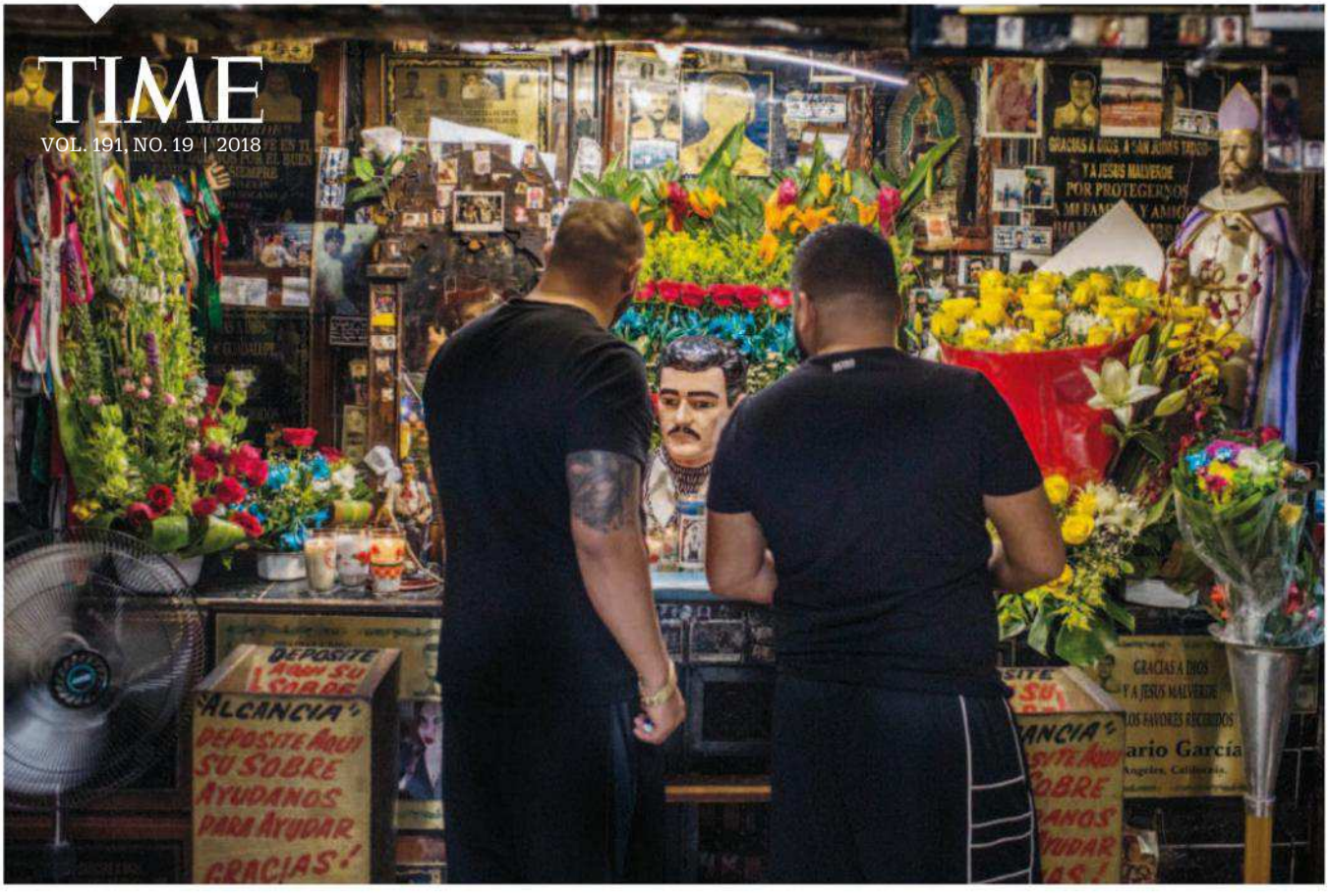

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A shrine to Jesús Malverde, considered the patron saint of drug traffickers, in Culiacán, Sinaloa, northwest Mexico

Photograph by Kirsten Luce for TIME

ON THE COVER: *"Kevin," a convicted sex offender, photographed on May 5 by Mike Belleme for TIME*

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WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

THE FBI IN CRISIS Eric Lichtblau's May 14 cover story about the FBI drew strong responses from those with ties to the agency. "The concerns of the American people regarding recent FBI leadership are exceeded tenfold by the anger and disgust of thousands of retired FBI agents like myself," wrote Joseph W. Koletar, a retired special agent in Bolivia, N.C. But Charlotte Carrabotta of Rockwood, Pa.—the mother of a deceased special agent—felt that the story didn't "do justice to the majority of FBI agents, who do their job well." Twitter user @Hestia382 wondered if FBI mismanagement has affected efforts to ensure election security, and @1liners argued that the real crisis is trickling down from the top, tweeting, "The FBI is not in crisis, this presidency is."

'As always, missteps draw more attention than success.'

HOWARD SCHMITT, Green Tree, Pa.

THE BULLY PULPIT In the same issue, comedian Elayne Boosler, who performed at the 1993 White House Correspondents' Association dinner, defended Michelle Wolf's controversial act at the 2018 event, prompting readers to share their own thoughts. Twitter user @BhaktiBrophy wrote that Wolf "was no more vulgar than Trump." Meanwhile, Frank R. D'Onofrio of Conowingo, Md., was impressed that White House press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders could sit through it. "I would have stood and left in protest," he wrote. Sheldon I. Saitlin of Chicago argued that all we need to know is how the audience reacted. A good roast should produce chuckles, he wrote, "not an uncomfortable groan."

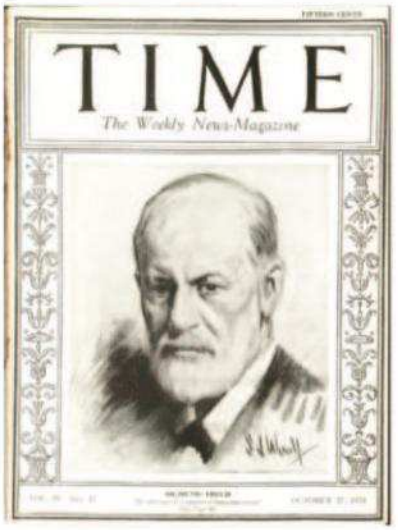
'Yes! Almost as if someone at TIME was reading my mind ...'

@_SILVERSMITH, on Twitter

Back in TIME

Sigmund Freud
Oct. 27, 1924

This week's feature on therapy for sex offenders *(page 38)* is part of TIME's long history of covering psychology. The topic, this 1924 article noted, "is so logical in appearance that the gravest error may be made in accepting its conclusions as great and devastating truths. One and one, the world is convinced, make two; but add one bad man to one good woman and the critics will argue forever on the sum." Read the full story at **time.com/vault**



THE ROAD TO ERADICATING POLIO
TIME editor at large Jeffrey Kluger has been reporting from Nigeria, one of the world's last reservoirs of endemic polio. The polio vaccine has been available in Nigeria for years, but until recently, misinformation about its health risks had spooked many locals. If the country can eradicate polio, it will mean all of Africa is free of the devastating disease. Read more at **time.com/health**

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For the Record

‘We are not coming here to teach Italians how to make coffee.’

HOWARD SCHULTZ,
Starbucks CEO, confirming that the chain will open its first Italian location, in Milan, in September

‘Find a different way to annoy them. Preferably by scoring some goals, that way would be the best way.’

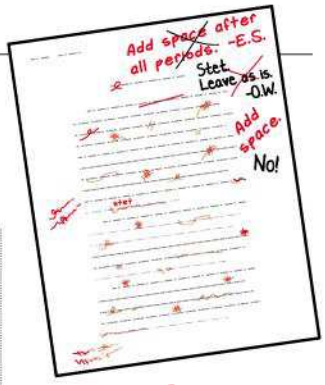
BRUCE CASSIDY,
Boston Bruins coach, on how he relayed a warning from the NHL to player Brad Marchand, who had been licking opponents’ faces

‘The theme to me is like, Be yourself. You were made in God’s image, right?’

LENA WAITHE,
actor and producer, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s annual Costume Institute gala; this year’s theme dovetailed with the opening of the exhibition “Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination”

‘THEY FUNNELED THROUGH A LAW FIRM, AND THE PRESIDENT REPAID IT.’

RUDOLPH GIULIANI,
former mayor of New York City and a member of President Trump’s legal team, claiming that the President repaid his personal lawyer for payments made to dissuade Stormy Daniels from talking about her alleged sexual relationship with Trump; he had previously denied doing so



2

Number of spaces needed between sentences for maximum ease of reading, according to a study in *Attention, Perception & Psychophysics;* TIME stands by its one-space stance

‘This is the fight Dr. King envisioned, even 50 years later.’

LISA RICE,
president of the National Fair Housing Alliance, on a suit filed against the U.S. government by advocates who say the Fair Housing Act is not being properly enforced

122.4°F

Temperature in the city of Nawabshah, in southern Pakistan, on April 30; meteorologists believe it may have been the hottest day ever recorded in the month of April

Orangutans
Scientists say a Chinese-backed dam will disrupt their Indonesian habitat

Gorillas and chimps
A census finds that their population in western and central Africa is roughly double what was thought

$8.24 million

Approximate amount of money in college scholarships to be donated by the estate of Brooklyn legal secretary and secret millionaire Sylvia Bloom; the New York *Times* reported that Bloom, who died in 2016 at age 96, amassed her fortune by copying her boss’s investment strategy

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: NEW YORK DAILY NEWS; NEW YORK TIMES; SCIENCE ADVANCES; USA TODAY

The Brief

THE MIDTERMS BEGIN
Ohio Democratic gubernatorial nominee Richard Cordray celebrates a primary win with his running mate, Betty Sutton

INSIDE

ARMENIA'S NEW LEADER MAKES THE LEAP FROM PROTESTER TO PRIME MINISTER

WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT CIA DIRECTOR NOMINEE GINA HASPEL'S RECORD ON TORTURE

READING INTO THE RELEASE OF THREE AMERICANS FROM DETENTION IN NORTH KOREA

POLITICS

Are American voters acting normal again?

By Molly Ball

EVER SINCE DONALD TRUMP CAME ALONG, politics has been upside down and backward, the conventional wisdom rendered useless and the old rules thrown out the window. Political professionals regard the American voter warily, never sure when the next weird surprise might come. Would Republicans vote for a man accused of pursuing teens for sex? Roy Moore nearly won a Senate seat in Alabama despite such allegations, which he denies. Could a Democrat capture a congressional district Trump won by 20 points? Conor Lamb in Pennsylvania did just that. In these topsy-turvy times, anything is possible.

And so, on May 9, the so-called experts braced for the latest insanity. But instead, in the first major round of primary voting ahead of this fall's midterm elections, Republican and Democratic voters made generally conventional choices. In primaries in West Virginia, Ohio and Indiana, voters eschewed the most out-of-the-mainstream candidates, and both party establishments exhaled.

In West Virginia, Republican voters chose Patrick Morrisey, the state attorney general, as their Senate nominee to challenge the Democratic incumbent, Joe Manchin. A former Washington lobbyist who positioned himself as the conservative in the race, Morrisey edged out a sitting Congressman, Evan Jenkins, as well as the race's most notorious contender, Don Blankenship, a former coal-company CEO who spent a year in prison for mine-safety violations after an explosion that killed 29 miners.

In the final days of the campaign, Blankenship released a bizarre ad in which he assailed the unpopular Senate majority leader, Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, for favoring "China-people" over Americans. Trump, presumably without intending any irony, warned voters that Blankenship was too crazy to win a general election, comparing him to Moore, the Republican candidate who managed to lose the Alabama race in December. The voters listened, giving Washington Republicans what they see as a better chance at taking the seat. Manchin is personally popular, but Trump won the state by 42 points in 2016.

In Ohio, it was Democrats who were on edge, thanks to a late surge by a colorful but unconventional candidate. But the establishment's preferred candidate for governor, former state attorney general Richard Cordray, easily defeated Dennis Kucinich, the far-left former Congressman and two-time presidential aspirant. Cordray is hardly a corporate-friendly Democrat—he was handpicked for his last job, director of the bank watchdog Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, by liberal warrior Elizabeth Warren—but he lacked Kucinich's crusading zeal and new-age vibes. The result was a reminder that for all the apparent political energy on the left, hardcore liberals don't necessarily have the numbers to win Democratic primaries. (See also: Bernie Sanders, who did not win the 2016 presidential nomination against Hillary Clinton.) In November, Cordray will face Republican state attorney general Mike DeWine, who also easily fended off a primary challenger. It will be a rematch of sorts: DeWine defeated Cordray for his current position in 2010.

There was no obviously radioactive candidate in the Indiana Senate primary, where Republicans chose Mike Braun, the CEO of an auto-parts distributor, over two sitting members of Congress. Braun spent millions on ads depicting himself as a political outsider, though he previously served in the state legislature. His opponents scurried to position themselves as the most loyal to Trump: one candidate, Todd Rokita, campaigned with a cardboard cutout of the President, while another, Luke Messer, wanted to nominate Trump for a Nobel Peace Prize. In this and other Republican primaries, the candidates have clearly concluded that Trump boosterism is their base voters' overriding priority, more than any particular credential or policy stance. But members of the Republican Congress, which many Trump backers blame for stalling the President's agenda, are a tough sell even to their own party these days. In Braun, Washington Republicans hope they will have a nominee who can contrast favorably with the Democratic incumbent, Joe Donnelly, by running against the mess in Washington.

IT IS A TESTAMENT to the distinctiveness of the President's personality that *Trumpy* or *Trumpian* has become shorthand for every exaggerated or outlandish political gesture, from not-so-veiled racism (Blankenship) to affection for dictators (Kucinich has met repeatedly with the brutal Syrian ruler Bashar Assad) to questionably gained riches (Braun's company is accused of labor violations). Voters of both parties remain annoyed with the corruption and disarray that they perceive in Washington, and both parties are in the throes of identity crises. But that doesn't mean they're just going to go for, as one Republican Congressman put it, "the craziest son of a bitch in the race."

The opening round of primaries showed that Democrats and Republicans alike might be looking for something more prosaic: candidates who can follow the traditional rules of politics—and, hopefully, win. □

NOT SO CRAZY AFTER ALL
Voters in three states nominated electable candidates

PATRICK MORRISEY
State: West Virginia
Party: Republican
Establishment cred: State attorney general and a former lobbyist

RICHARD CORDRAY
State: Ohio
Party: Democrat
Establishment cred: Obama appointee and a former state attorney general

MIKE BRAUN
State: Indiana
Party: Republican
Establishment cred: Businessman and a former member of the Indiana house of representatives

PREVIOUS PAGE: JAY LAPRETE—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; THIS PAGE: MORRISEY: AP; CORDRAY, BRAUN: GETTY IMAGES (2)

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COZI

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Protesters in Yerevan on May 2 wave the Armenian flag from a truck displaying a photograph of opposition leader Nikol Pashinyan, who was appointed interim Prime Minister days later

THE BULLETIN

Armenia's peaceful protester takes power in a bloodless revolution

ON MAY 8, PRO-DEMOCRACY PROTESTER Nikol Pashinyan was appointed interim Prime Minister of Armenia, the tiny Moscow-friendly former Soviet state bordering Turkey, Georgia, Iran and Azerbaijan. Pashinyan, 42, has been praised for staging a peaceful revolution to topple a long-term leader. Now he must grapple with the reality of governing in Russia's shadow.

RABBLE ROUSER Pashinyan first received attention as a student journalist in the 1990s, railing against corruption and an entrenched elite. He later founded and edited the country's leading opposition newspaper and was briefly imprisoned in 2009 for his involvement in street protests. Pashinyan went on to found his own party, Civil Contract, which was elected to parliament as part of an opposition coalition in 2017.

VELVET REVOLT In April, Pashinyan led 10 days of peaceful demonstrations across the country against Serzh Sargsyan, who was appointed Prime Minister after spending a decade as President. Protesters said Sargsyan, who has close ties to Russian President Vladimir Putin, had abused the system to cling to power. Armenia's "velvet revolution" came to a head on the eve of April 24, Genocide Remembrance Day. Sargsyan resigned, admitting, "I was wrong." Two weeks later, parliament elected Pashinyan Prime Minister.

OPEN QUESTIONS Although Russia said intervening in the mass protests would be "inappropriate" and praised Sargsyan for resigning, it is unclear whether the Kremlin will warm to the self-styled revolutionary who now leads the country. With a population of just 2.9 million, Armenia depends heavily on Russia for economic support and security, as it is locked in a decades-old conflict with Azerbaijan over disputed territories. But left-leaning Pashinyan may be more inclined to forge links with the E.U., a move that would likely displease Putin. Pro-democracy activists will hope that Armenia's revolution does not go the bloody way of those in ex–Soviet states like Georgia and Ukraine.

—KATE SAMUELSON

NEWS TICKER

Melania Trump to focus on kids

First Lady Melania Trump on May 7 **unveiled a campaign called "Be Best,"** which she said would aim to help children by encouraging social, emotional and physical health. Her choice to include cyberbullying in the platform drew attention because of the President's tendency to use insults on social media.

Hizballah makes gains in Lebanon vote

The Iran-backed militant group Hizballah made gains on May 6 in **Lebanon's first parliamentary elections since 2009.** Western-backed Prime Minister Saad Hariri said his party lost a third of its seats, while Hizballah leader Hassan Nasrallah declared the vote a "great political and moral victory."

NASA launches Mars InSight lander

On May 5, **NASA launched the Mars InSight lander,** a small spacecraft designed to conduct studies of the Red Planet's interior. The lander is on a two-year mission to drill into the surface of Mars, using a probe reaching as deep as 16 ft.

SERGEI GAPON—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

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—BOB WOODWARD

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NEWS TICKER

At least 45 dead in Nigeria ambush

Armed bandits **killed at least 45 people in the Nigerian village of Gwaska** on May 5. The attack was the latest in a series of mass killings that have shaken the nation and left more than 1,500 people dead since 2018 began.

Nobel Prize for Literature postponed

The Swedish Academy, which awards the prize, said on May 4 it would wait until next year to announce the latest winner, after a **sexual-abuse scandal prompted infighting and resignations** from the prize committee. The controversy started when Jean-Claude Arnault, a photographer with ties to the academy, was accused of harassing or assaulting more than a dozen women over 20 years.

New Ebola outbreak in Congo

The Democratic Republic of Congo on May 8 **declared an outbreak of the Ebola virus** after lab results confirmed two cases in the northwest part of the country. The new outbreak is thought to have infected 21 people, killing 17, before it was officially confirmed.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF

CIA director nominee Gina Haspel's role in interrogation programs

EVER SINCE PRESIDENT TRUMP TAPPED Gina Haspel to lead the CIA nearly two months ago, fierce debate has engulfed Washington over her suitability to run the agency. Haspel, a 33-year intelligence operative who would become the first woman to lead the CIA, remains embroiled in controversy because of her role in the agency's interrogation and detention program in the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks.

During a May 9 confirmation hearing in front of the Senate Intelligence Committee, it was her turn to speak. "I want to be clear: Having served in that tumultuous time, I can offer you my personal commitment, clearly and without reservation, that under my leadership, on my watch, CIA will not restart such a detention and interrogation program," Haspel said.

Still, she evaded answering questions on her role in the program, branded as "torture" by critics, and refused to say whether she felt it was immoral in hindsight. "We'll be able to go over any of my classified assignments in classified session," she told inquiring Senators.

In fact, because Haspel was an undercover agent, much of her career remains shrouded in secrecy—but not all of it. It's widely known that she oversaw an agency "black site" in Thailand where al-Qaeda suspects were subject to an array of harsh techniques, including waterboarding, which simulates drowning. Much of this information comes from a tranche of heavily redacted documents on the interrogation program, which was publicly released in December 2014. It revealed that before Haspel's arrival in Thailand, Abu Zubaydah was waterboarded 83 times during a three-week period in August 2002. According to his lawyer, he was "suspended from hooks in the ceiling, forced into a coffin for hours at a time in a gathering pool of his own urine and feces, crammed into a tiny box that would've been small even for a child, bombarded with screaming noise and cold air, compelled to stay awake for days on end, and 'rectally rehydrated.'" Another man, Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri, was waterboarded three times while Haspel was at the site. Retired military leaders, antitorture groups and others have fought her nomination. She faces a challenging path in a full Senate vote.

The CIA has refused to say whether Haspel had direct involvement in the use of controversial techniques or what her role was in drawing up orders to destroy videotapes that documented their use. But in a move that has rankled some of its former rank and file, the agency has engaged in an unprecedented public relations campaign supporting her appointment. A brief biography states that she was a globe-trotting officer whose career was "right out of a spy novel." Indeed, Haspel served on the front lines during the Cold War and fight against al-Qaeda. The period pertaining to the Thailand black site, however, remains cast in darkness. —W.J. HENNIGAN

FOOD

A matter of taste

In response to complaints about its vanilla ice cream, Häagen-Dazs has confirmed it tweaked the recipe last year. Here, other big-brand flavor changes that went awry.

—Abigail Abrams

NEW COKE
The most infamous mistake came in 1985, when Coca-Cola introduced the first recipe update in Coke's history. Customers hated it and the phrase "New Coke" became synonymous with a product fail.

TWININGS TEA
The British tea company added more citrus flavor to its classic Earl Grey in 2011, but to customers the change was, well, not their cup of tea. Some created a Facebook page demanding the return of the original.

NUTELLA
When Ferrero changed its Nutella recipe in November, fans of the spread were truly angry. They took to social media, using the hashtag #NutellaGate to profess their love for the old product.

A TV news report shows three Americans held in North Korea who were released on May 9 in Pyongyang

RELEASED

North Korea prisoners
Pawns in a familiar game

IT IS ONE OF THE RUBE GOLDBERG RULES of summitry: Jail doors will swing open when diplomats want more room to maneuver. And so three American citizens were freed from North Korean custody on May 9: Kim Dong-Chul, Tony Kim and Kim Hak-Song were led aboard the U.S. government jet of Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, who on the same stop spent 90 minutes with dictator Kim Jong Un. President Trump later tweeted that Pompeo and Kim had nailed down the date and time that Trump will meet Kim to discuss the future of Pyongyang's nuclear-weapons program.

The visit, held the day after Trump broke off the nuclear deal with Iran, recalled prisoner releases that bracketed that pact. Iran's freeing of jailed American hikers in 2011 opened the way for initial secret talks between the longtime enemies, and in 2015 both countries sealed the deal by releasing prisoners—five by Iran and seven by the U.S.

North Korea's history of captive-taking reaches back decades and contributed to Trump's decision to order all U.S. citizens out of the country by September 2017. All three of the newly released captives had been arrested before that deadline—a painful circumstance transformed, through diplomacy, to provide an opportunity for antagonists to claim some common ground.

—KARL VICK

INAUGURATED
Vladimir Putin, as President of Russia, for his fourth term. He has run the country for 18 years as President or Prime Minister.

ISSUED
The **first nonbinary birth certificate** in Ontario, Canada, to Joshua Ferguson, who uses the pronoun *they*. Ferguson received a new birth certificate in May after petitioning the province for a year.

NAMED
Former Ronald Reagan aide **Oliver North,** known for his role in the 1980s Iran-*contra* affair, as the next president of the National Rifle Association, the group said on May 7.

DIED
Nearly **200 wild horses,** of famine and dehydration, at a pond in northern Arizona, Navajo Nation leaders said May 3. Weakened by drought, the horses got stuck in the mud.

SUSPENDED
Opioid sales from Morris & Dickson, by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency, over a failure to report suspicious purchases. This was the first time the agency cut off a distributor's drug sales since 2012, but a federal judge has temporarily blocked the order.

SOLD
The Phnom Penh *Post,* seen as Cambodia's last independent daily newspaper, to a Malaysian businessman on May 5. The sale comes amid a crackdown by the country's Prime Minister on perceived critics.

THE CEO REPORT

Warren Buffett speaks to CEOs going political

By Alan Murray

WHEN WARREN BUFFETT held his annual investor-fest at the beginning of this month, he weighed in on CEOs taking stands on social issues. While he certainly airs his own political views from time to time, his stance is that he doesn't want to speak for shareholders.

Buffett's view on this subject was once standard CEO fare. But that's changed: think Salesforce CEO Marc Benioff's campaign against Indiana's religious-freedom law, Merck CEO Ken Frazier's resignation from President Trump's advisory council after the Charlottesville riots or Delta CEO Ed Bastian's decision to cut discounts for NRA members after the Parkland shootings—to name a few.

None of those would have happened a decade ago. So why are they happening now? In many cases, employees and customers are demanding that CEOs speak out.

But Buffett is right to note that this gets tricky quickly. When Frazier made his stand, he was not giving his personal views but signaling "what kind of company we are." Benioff and Bastian were doing the same. At some point, taking such stands risks alienating customers and adding to polarization. The old line separating business from politics has clearly moved. But many CEOs are still struggling to understand where the new line should be drawn.

Murray is the president of Fortune

HASPEL: SHUTTERSTOCK; FOOD: GETTY IMAGES (3); PRISONERS: AHN YOUNG-JOON—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

Sex and the City's **Cynthia Nixon** finds a new role in politics

By Daniel D'Addario

SITTING IN THE OPEN KITCHEN OF HER New York City apartment, the first-time political candidate snacks on pistachios and talks campaign-finance reform. "In New York, you can't call out Wall Street, right?" says Cynthia Nixon, who is running for the Democratic nomination for governor of New York. She rises to buzz in a delivery, and on the way to the door continues in campaign mode. "The private prison system is built on debt, right? Without the banks lending them all this money to expand, they would not be able to do what they're doing. Fundraising is monopolizing everything." Just before opening her door, she says, "That's why campaign-finance reform is so important. It's the mother reform, the reform that makes all the other reforms possible."

She opens the door to accept a large, thin box. "You look like an actress," the messenger says. Nixon has grown accustomed to this: "I am. *Sex and the City*." Nixon's most famous role is but a beat in a conversation dedicated to the role for which she's now auditioning.

To those who hadn't followed Nixon's activism before she announced her candidacy, she's still Miranda Hobbes, the tough-talking best friend from six seasons' and two movies' worth of Manhattan exploits. But to New York politicos, she's a rising challenger to Governor Andrew Cuomo. New York politics has long been defined by personality and often haunted by scandal. (The state's attorney general, Eric Schneiderman, resigned on May 7 after allegations of his abusing women were published by the *New Yorker*. "I have not assaulted anyone," Schneiderman told the magazine.) Nixon appears, for a celebrity, almost prosaically scandal-free. Her persona—the smart, relentlessly logical law nerd from *Sex and the City*—precedes her and may help make her case.

Supporters say Nixon has already begun pushing Cuomo further to his left. Since Nixon began her campaign in March, the governor has announced that he intends to restore voting rights to paroled felons and signaled that he may legalize marijuana, saying, "The facts have changed." Nixon's campaign calls this "the Cynthia effect."

Cuomo allies contest this, pointing to liberal accomplishments like New York's legalization of same-sex marriage in 2011 and the state's $15 minimum-wage plan and paid family leave policy. His campaign, in a statement, said, "The governor's long record of progressive accomplishment is irrefutable. Any claims otherwise should be seen for what they are: baseless election-year rhetoric."

A recent Quinnipiac poll shows Nixon's support among Democrats at 28%, trailing Cuomo by 22 points. "Power never concedes without a challenge," Nixon says. "And so that seems particularly true of Andrew Cuomo."

While the 2018 midterm election has many first-time candidates taking on establishment politicians, the most watched among them have been Democrats challenging Republican candidates who support the President. Nixon's opposition, a man who she says has few core beliefs, is a member of her own party. Nixon will need to convince Democratic primary voters that she's better equipped to carry out a governing vision than a two-term incumbent experienced at handling the levers of power. Listening to her clear, often lengthy but plainspoken answers, it doesn't seem impossible. Stranger things have happened, and recently.

I TALKED WITH NIXON on the afternoon of May Day, after she took part in a morning protest against private prisons. Nixon, closely trailed by reporters, is aware of her ability to draw the media's attention. "The press, I watched them," she says. "They were trying to get me in the crowd, and they were trying to find me, but then what was happening was so profound! You could see the cameras turn from me, and they started filming what people were doing and what people were saying."

The Emmy- and Tony-winning actor inherently understands politics' "theatricality," a word she used to describe her May Day rally. Up against a governor born into a political dynasty who has mastered the gestures that play in New York, she's willing to play the skeptic. "Cuomo is such a skilled politician that I think sometimes he's too skilled," she says. "Sometimes it bites him in the butt. He's very cognizant of investing money in things you can take a photo next to."

Nixon has been an activist for progressive causes for 17 years. She says she has been urged to run for governor since at least 2010, the year Cuomo was elected. Billy Easton, executive director of the Alliance for Quality Education, a coalition that fights for public-school funding, recalls Nixon's working in 2007 to buttonhole Republican lawmakers in Albany, the state capital, to get more funds. "She's one of the key players in making that happen," Easton said.

Despite the availability of the governor's bully pulpit, Cuomo does not appear invincible. In 2014, a little-known law-school professor named

NIXON QUICK FACTS

Starting out
Nixon graduated from New York City's Barnard College in 1988. While there, she appeared in two Broadway plays—at the same time.

The road ahead
She won't rule out running as a third-party candidate in November: "When [Cuomo] gives an answer to that question, I will give an answer to that question."

At home
Nixon's wife, Christine Marinoni, is a longtime education activist.

ERIK MCGREGOR—SIPA USA

Zephyr Teachout got 34% of the Democratic primary vote against the then first-term governor. And Nixon's more visible campaign is riding the wave of female activists and candidates who emerged in the aftermath of Hillary Clinton's election loss. "I do think sometimes out of defeat there can be victory," Nixon says of Clinton. "And I think that she inspired so many people, including me, to run in a way that, had she been elected, I would not have felt that same need." She pauses, considering another inspiration point. "And Bernie Sanders too, frankly."

Nixon says she finds inspiration in both of the 2016 Democratic rivals, whose supporters fought bitterly at times. "I think I'm a candidate of this time," she says. "If you take Hillary's message and you take Bernie's message, it's not hard to combine them and say the Berniecrats have to do a better job of talking to people across the board and the Hillary—I don't know what the nickname is, the Hillaryheads, we have to really get serious about income inequality and about how our country is more and more stratified. And that's how we end up with a Donald Trump."

Nixon draws inspiration from emerging candidates this year as well, including Stacey Abrams, the woman making a pathbreaking run to be Georgia's first black female governor. Nixon remarks on how impressed she was that Abrams didn't "find that daunting—she said, I'm going to be the first!" Does Nixon wonder about the symbolism inherent in her own run: a woman, in a same-sex partnership (either would be a first for the governor of New York), running against …

"A bully?" she asks. (I had been thinking a straight white man.) "I really don't, and when people say it back to me, it's very nice, but I never vote for anybody because of the category they fit in, except maybe progressive."

'If you take Hillary's message and you take Bernie's message, it's not hard to combine them.'

CYNTHIA NIXON, candidate for the Democratic nomination for New York governor

AS OUR CONVERSATION ENDS, Nixon apologizes twice for having been "long-winded," then knocks on an interior window to bring out her wife, Christine Marinoni, an education activist, who had been doing some household chores. Nixon seemed doubly advantaged—a star accustomed to sharing her mystique with her public, and an insurgent candidate making connections not available to a traditional politician. For someone in the middle of an already contentious race in a high-drama state, Nixon was almost normal. Whatever happens in the election, she's cleared the first hurdle, with a bit of help from the jostling force of recent history. The outsider given to long answers and challenging the mainstream seems, in 2018, a natural politician. □

HOLIDAYS

Why we spend more on Mom than on Dad

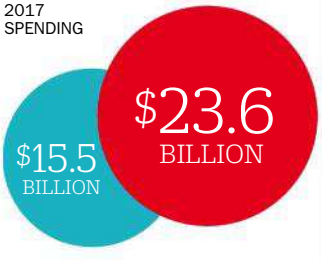
NOT THAT IT'S A COMPETITION, but U.S. consumers typically shell out 50% more on Mother's Day than on Father's Day. The disparity likely speaks to a fundamental truth about the work American mothers do: research shows that, while dads are spending increasingly more time with their kids, moms still assume the bulk of the child-rearing responsibility. "Children may feel their mothers really sacrifice for them," says Ralph LaRossa, a sociology professor at Georgia State University who has studied gender and parenthood.

In addition, American culture glorifies motherhood more so than fatherhood. "There's so much symbolic value that touches mothers," LaRossa says. So it figures that we'd end up giving more back to Mom. Here's how the spending shakes out.

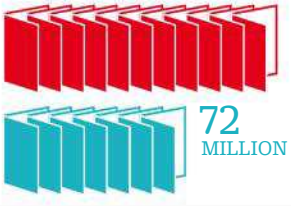
MOTHER'S DAY
May 13
Always the second Sunday in May

FATHER'S DAY
June 17
Always the third Sunday in June

2017 SPENDING



CARDS EXCHANGED



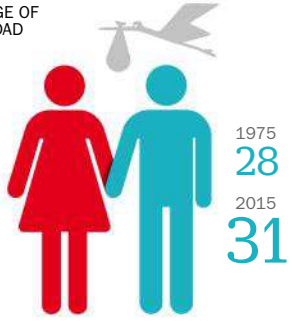
PEOPLE PLAN TO BUY MOM …

69% Flowers
56% Restaurant
37% Clothing
36% Jewelry

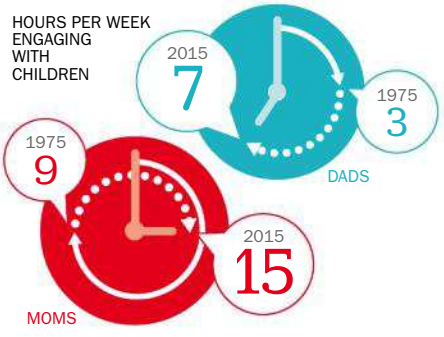
PEOPLE PLAN TO BUY DAD …

48% Restaurant
46% Clothing
24% Books/CDs
21% Electronics

AVERAGE AGE OF MOM AND DAD FOR CHILD BORN IN …



HOURS PER WEEK ENGAGING WITH CHILDREN



PERCENTAGES OF MOMS AND DADS WHO SAY THEY ARE DOING A VERY GOOD JOB RAISING THEIR CHILDREN

51%
39%

AVERAGE SPENDING PER SHOPPER

GRAPHIC BY EMILY BARONE AND LON TWEETEN
NOTE: PLANNED PURCHASES EXCLUDE GIFT CARDS
SOURCES: NATIONAL RETAIL FEDERATION; HALLMARK; PEW; MICHAEL EISENBERG, STANFORD UNIVERSITY; CDC

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LightBox

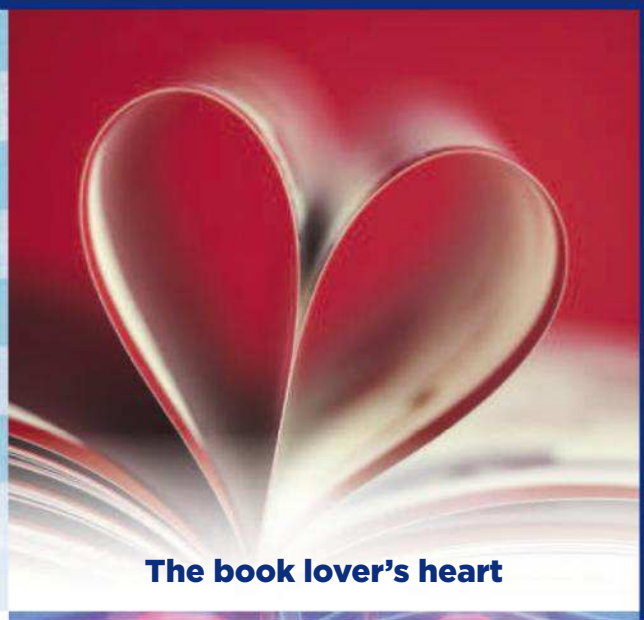
‘So beautiful, yet so destructive’

Authorities ordered at least 1,700 residents to evacuate homes near Hawaii’s Kilauea volcano after its crater floor collapsed on April 30, precipitating a series of earthquakes including a 6.9-magnitude temblor on May 4. Magma flow into the lower East Rift Zone has resulted in several lava- and gas-releasing fissures in the Leilani Estates subdivision near Pahoa, where more than two dozen homes—including these, photographed from a helicopter by Bruce Omori on May 6—have been overrun. “So beautiful, yet so destructive,” Omori tells TIME. “If you’ve ever seen a flow move through an area, there’s nothing that can stop it. Absolutely nothing.”

Photograph by Bruce Omori—Paradise Helicopters/EPA-EFE/Shutterstock

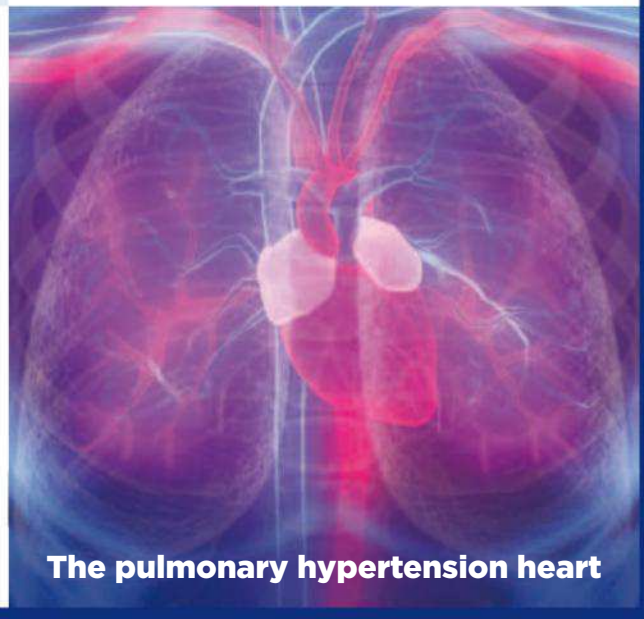
▸ For more of our best photography, visit time.com/lightbox

The food lover's heart



The book lover's heart

The lover's heart



The pulmonary hypertension heart

Pulmonary hypertension puts unbearable stress on the heart.

Often misdiagnosed - as asthma, for example - Pulmonary Hypertension **(PH)** can cause death from heart failure. There is no cure. But at the Pulmonary Hypertension Association, we're giving hope to PH patients and caregivers. Learn how you can help at **www.PHAssociation.org**

PHA Pulmonary Hypertension Association

We're putting our heart into finding a cure.

The View

WORLD

TRUMP'S RISKY GAME OF DEAL OR NO DEAL

By Brian Bennett

Moments after he declared that the U.S. was ditching the Iran nuclear deal, President Trump abruptly switched topics. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo was en route to North Korea, he said, to prepare for Trump's meeting with the despot Kim Jong Un.

INSIDE

A FORMER ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER ANALYZES TRUMP'S DECISION

HOW AMERICA'S WITHDRAWAL COULD ISOLATE IT FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD

GABRIELLE UNION MAKES A NEW DEAL—WITH HOLLYWOOD

It seemed like a jarring aside, but it sheds light on why Trump decided to reimpose U.S. sanctions against Iran on May 8. Over the past two months, Trump has come to see his policy toward North Korea as a success. He believes his unusual combination of insults and biting economic sanctions has brought a nuclear-armed dictator to the negotiating table—and now he wants to run the same playbook against Iran.

"Today's action sends a critical message: The United States no longer makes empty threats. When I make promises, I keep them," Trump said, standing at a lectern in the White House's Diplomatic Room. Then he brought up Pompeo's trip: "In fact, at this very moment, Secretary Pompeo is on his way to North Korea in preparation for my upcoming meeting with Kim Jong Un. Plans are being made. Relationships are building."

Foreign policy experts have warned for months that if Trump backs out of the Iran deal—known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)—it will make it harder to convince North Korea that the U.S. will stick to any commitments it makes in denuclearization talks.

But Trump and his aides disagree. Ditching the Iran deal, in their view, shows North Korea's young dictator that Trump won't accept terms that allow for Kim to eventually rebuild a nuclear program. The withdrawal "will have implications not simply for Iran but for the forthcoming meeting with Kim Jong Un of North Korea," National Security Adviser John Bolton told reporters in the White House press room after the President spoke. "The message to North Korea is the President wants a real deal."

According to Bolton, Pompeo will ask Kim to discuss a return to commitments North Korea made in 1992, when it signed the South-North Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, which included shutting down uranium enrichment and plutonium processing.

Nonproliferation experts say Trump may be generating a crisis where there wasn't one. Iran has limited its capacity to enrich uranium, according to U.N. inspectors. By going back on the U.S. part of the bargain, Trump risks provoking Tehran into restarting the centrifuges.

Iran hasn't yet said it will dump the deal. So far, President Hassan Rouhani has attempted to salvage the agreement upon which he has staked his political career. He said Iran would stick by the terms of the nuclear deal if the remaining signatories—the U.K., France, Germany, China, Russia and the E.U.—could prove that they would meet their commitments. European leaders have said they would be willing to maintain the deal without U.S. involvement.

But Supreme Leader Ayatullah Ali Khameini poured scorn on the idea of preserving a version of the deal with the existing signatories, in a sharp break with his moderate President. "I don't trust these countries either, don't trust them," he said in a televised address. If Iran isn't given appropriate guarantees, "then we cannot continue the JCPOA." In Tehran, hard-line protesters burned American flags.

Amir Mohebbian, a prominent conservative political analyst and university professor in Tehran, predicts that Iran will eventually pick up where it left off before 2015. "It's not likely that the deal can survive after this, and this gives Iran legitimate rights to exit and upgrade its nuclear program," he says. In fact, he suggests, the threat of confrontation will be higher. "When diplomacy fails, the military has to step in to compensate."

> ***'This gives Iran legitimate rights to exit and upgrade its nuclear program.'***
>
> **AMIR MOHEBBIAN,** Iranian political analyst

That doesn't bode well for the North Korea talks, which are due to begin in earnest over the next few weeks. Trump's negotiating skills—honed in New York real estate—are still being tested on the world stage. He brokered the release of three Americans but hasn't gotten any nuclear concessions out of Kim yet, and his saber rattling on trade has yet to show dramatic results for the U.S.

"It's not clear that the Art of the Deal works," says Mark Dubowitz, CEO of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, who has advocated for fixing shortcomings in the Iran deal. "Obviously, Trump has an appetite for risk that has led him to huge successes and four bankruptcies. This is clearly another example of a hugely risky negotiating strategy that could yield extremely positive results or be a potential disaster." —*With reporting by* KAY ARMIN SERJOIE/TEHRAN *and* W.J. HENNIGAN/WASHINGTON

QUICK TALK

Ehud Barak

As Israel's Defense Minister in 2012, Barak stoked fears that Israel would strike Iran. The threats led to the sanctions against Tehran that helped force it to negotiate the deal signed in 2015. Barak, who was also the Prime Minister of Israel, is the author of a new memoir, My Country, My Life.

Did President Trump do the right thing by pulling out of the Iran deal? I think that the deal was a bad deal. But once it was signed, it was a matter of fact. The Iranians are doing many bad things, but those things are beyond the agreement.

Did Israel need a new front right now against Iran? It's not our new front. It's a sovereign decision of the American President.

Is Trump undoing the results of your work in 2012? In the short term, there might even be positive consequences, because the Iranians will be even more cautious not to risk any American response. But in the longer term, it's kind of problematic. Without any rules, the world becomes much more uncertain, much more open to miscalculations. —*Karl Vick*

Barak in Tel Aviv on Jan. 29, 2017

Iranians burn flags outside the former U.S. embassy headquarters on May 9

RISK REPORT

The aftershock across the globe

By Ian Bremmer

THE IRAN DEAL ISN'T dead yet. The rest of the signatories (Germany, France, the U.K., Russia, China and the E.U.) have vowed to uphold the terms of the 2015 agreement. Iran's President Hassan Rouhani has signaled a desire to do the same. And so President Donald Trump's decision may become the latest proof that we now live in a post–Pax Americana world—one in which the U.S. perhaps doesn't play a lead role but a participatory one.

There is a growing divide between the U.S. and Europe, where leaders were already incensed that Trump has offered only temporary exemptions on the steel and aluminum tariffs that the U.S. is threatening to impose on the E.U. After Trump's Iran announcement, the U.K., France and Germany issued a joint statement that expressed regret and concern.

French President Emmanuel Macron is trying to keep the deal alive by pursuing a "broader framework" that addresses not just nuclear activity but also Iran's missile program and its activities in Syria, Yemen and Iraq. But it's hard to see how he can convince Trump that Iran will no longer be "the leading state sponsor of terror," as Trump described it.

In the Middle East, the initial impact has already been felt. Israel immediately deployed airstrikes in Syria, and more conflict is now a real risk. Both Israel and Saudi Arabia, confident in their support from Trump, will answer each perceived Iranian act of aggression. Worse still, if Iran decides the deal is indeed dead, it will kick out International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors and begin enriching uranium. If you're worried that Iran is determined to get a nuclear weapon, it's better to have the inspectors inside the country.

Concerns also exist stateside. The price of oil already reached a three-year high on the speculation that Trump was preparing to abandon the nuclear deal. As U.S. sanctions come back into force, Iran's oil production will take a hit, as will the world's supply of the critical commodity. If a spike in oil prices pushes gas prices higher, there will be political repercussions for Trump and his allies—just in time for the summer driving season and then the midterm elections.

The President has not offered an alternative plan to thwart Iran's nuclear development. Perhaps Iran's faltering economy will doom the regime. Or maybe the Trump Administration will respond to perceived provocation with military strikes. Whatever the strategy, the world may have just become an even more volatile place. □

BARAK: GETTY IMAGES; IRAN: ATTA KENARE—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; ILLUSTRATION BY JON STICH FOR TIME

READING LIST

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

The great dairy debate

Mark Kurlansky, author of the new book *Milk! A 10,000-Year Food Fracas,* details the drink's history of controversy and why **"though cow's milk is what fills our refrigerators, few claim that it is the ideal milk for humans."** A better option? Donkey's milk.

A transpacific disconnect

The Chinese ambassador to the U.S., Cui Tiankai, writes that while "the trade deficit that the United States has with China gets all the headlines," **there's a more fundamental and pernicious misunderstanding** that Americans have of China.

Why humans are obsessed with Mars

For centuries, **earthlings have pinned their hopes on the Red Planet—** for extraterrestrial life and for a future home to humans. In a conversation, David A. Weintraub, author of the new book *Life on Mars: What to Know Before We Go,* explains how this came to be and what his own requirements would be for joining a colonizing expedition.

^ *Union working on the set of* Breaking In, *out May 11*

Here's how we can begin fixing Hollywood

By Gabrielle Union

WHEN I FIRST STARTED ACTING, I WAS ALWAYS CAST AS THE sassy, asexual black best friend. My peers were shoved into similar, limiting boxes, as there weren't a lot of opportunities for actors of color. The available roles were oftentimes racist, sexist or woefully underdeveloped. I would read certain scripts and think, You can't be serious.

But if you dared to speak up, you—not the source of the prejudice—would be the problem. Many writers' rooms were painfully white and male, and if you called out a racist joke, you would be accused of being overly sensitive. The message was clear: Shut up and thank your lucky stars that you have a job. People of color just weren't valued.

Films like *Black Panther,* however, have demonstrated not only that people of color have immense talent, but also that they can be wildly successful at the box office. Still, parts haven't gotten that much more diverse. The opportunities to see yourself reflected on the big or small screen should not be limited to the pillars of communities or harmful stereotypical tropes. What about the beautiful stories in between?

I want to play average characters with average problems. We should be able to appear in the same nonsensical and mundane stories as white men and women. I want there to be a black *Seinfeld,* a show about literally nothing. I would love to see more films like *Juno* or *Lady Bird,* deliciously nuanced coming-of-age stories that women of color just don't get to tell. It's not that we don't have the material—those books have been written, those articles have been published, and those web series exist. But those projects don't get funded.

There are few people willing to take a chance on stories written by and that center on people of color. White creatives can fail miserably for years and still be given platform after platform and opportunity after opportunity. Meanwhile, it's incredibly challenging for us to even get to step one.

'I want there to be a black Seinfeld, a show about literally nothing.'

THAT'S WHY I STARTED the production company I'll Have Another. I wanted to create a diversity of opportunity—both on- and offscreen. The Time's Up initiative has sparked conversations about the inequity of opportunities for marginalized groups in every field. When we gain that equity across the board, we'll see more diverse stories.

But for all of our narratives to be reflected on the screen, we have to fight for all underrepresented groups at once. There has to be intersectionality in any movement. We can't have separate conversations about racism and sexism. We can't say, "I'm here to tell women's stories and stories for women of color." There shouldn't be a pecking order—we shouldn't give white women their due now, and then address everyone else later. The choices we make as creatives are important in the broader fight for equality. Representation—both in front of and behind the camera—matters, and it's why I work so tirelessly on everything that I take on. For *Breaking In,* I line-produced, worked with wardrobe, made sure the lodging was sufficient and helped production stay on schedule. It's important for me to be visible in these roles, and to take more control of the creative process.

L.A.'s Finest, for example, an upcoming TV spin-off of *Bad Boys* and I'll Have Another's first project, has a bigger budget than that of most films I've worked on over the past 20 years. It has people of color and women in every position, from the writers' room to the crew. And for the first time in my career, that wasn't something I had to fight for.

We are finally realizing that inclusion isn't just the right thing, it's lucrative—and time's truly up. For my part, I'm going to put people to work, and we're going to tell the stories we've long been dying to tell.

Union is an actor, activist and producer

HILARY BRONWYN GAYLE

The LeBron vs. Michael debate just got real

By Sean Gregory

FOR CERTAIN STUBBORN BASKETBALL fans, Michael Jordan will always be the greatest player of all time. Even devotees of His Airness, however, must give LeBron James his due. King James finished this NBA season, his 15th, with his highest scoring average (27.5) in eight years, a career-best 9.1 assists per game, and 8.6 rebounds per game, which tied a career high. And he has single-handedly carried the Cavaliers in these playoffs, averaging an eye-popping 34.3 points. He's also hit two dramatic buzzer beaters, including a running one-handed bank shot to beat the top-seeded Toronto Raptors in Cleveland's second-round sweep that will populate highlight reels for years.

So how to you settle the Jordan-James sports-bar debate? Jordan partisans point to his unmatched aerial artistry and his perfect 6-0 record in the NBA Finals. LeBron lovers cite his superior rebounding and passing stats and the likelihood of more MVP seasons to come. It's fitting that James' go-to move in these playoffs is a fadeaway jump shot that echoes the one Jordan perfected. Because these days, it can be hard to tell these two legends apart.

MICHAEL JORDAN 32,292 points over 15 seasons

LEBRON JAMES 31,038 points over 15 seasons

	JORDAN	JAMES
AVERAGE POINTS PER GAME	**30.1**	27.2
SHOOTING PERCENTAGE	49.7%	**50.4%**
FREE-THROW PERCENTAGE	**84%**	74%
ASSISTS PER GAME	5.3	**7.2**
REBOUNDS PER GAME	6.2	**7.4**
50-POINT GAMES (INCLUDING PLAYOFFS)	**39**	11
LEAGUE MVP AWARDS	**5**	4
SEASONS AS NBA SCORING LEADER	**10**	1
PLAYOFF BUZZER BEATERS	3	**5**
CINEMATIC SUCCESS	38%	**86%**
	Space Jam 1996	*Trainwreck* 2015
		ROTTEN TOMATOES RATING

SOURCES: BASKETBALL-REFERENCE.COM; ESPN

NOTE: PERFORMANCE STATISTICS REFLECT REGULAR SEASON ONLY, UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED.

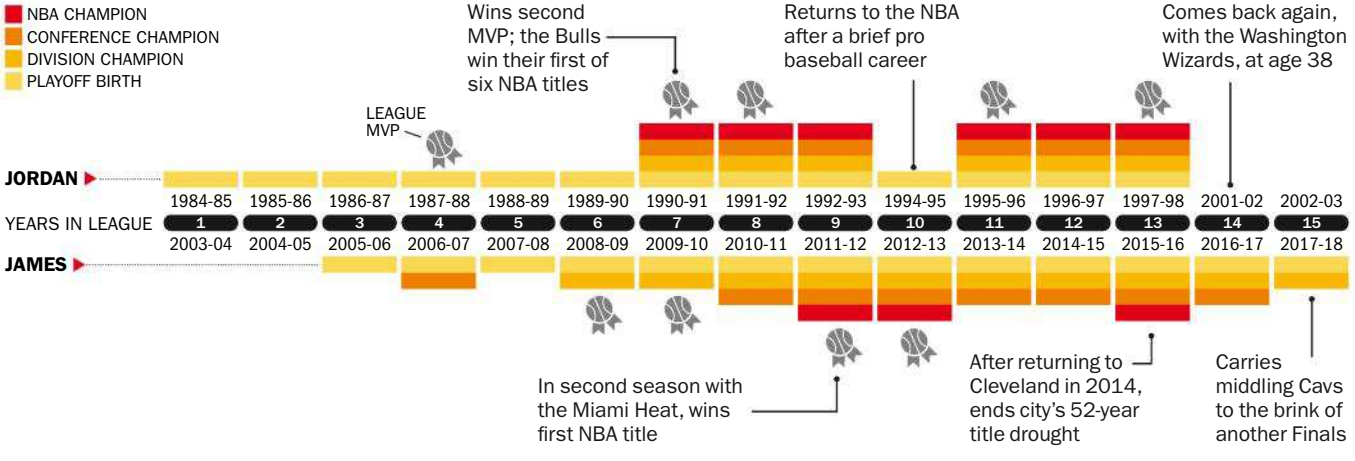


PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY LON TWEETEN FOR TIME; GETTY IMAGES (2)

BRENDAN MCDERMID—REUTERS

THE FIXER'S MYSTERY FUND

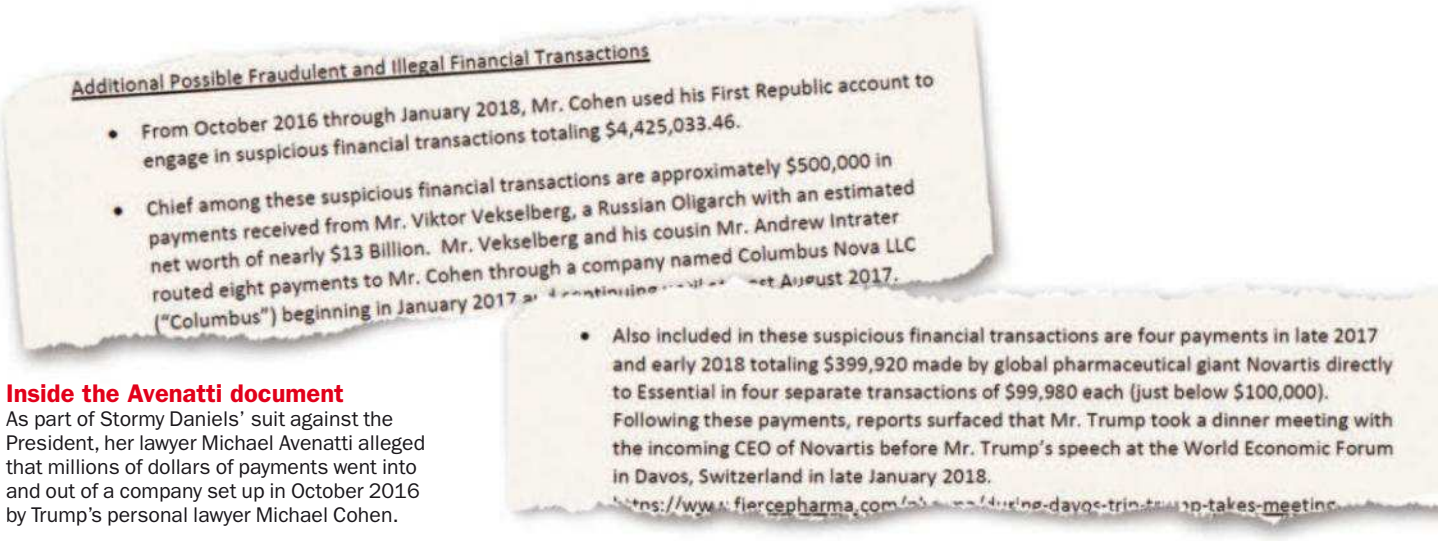
MILLIONS WENT IN, BUT FOR WHAT?

BY BRIAN BENNETT AND HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS

AT 5:06 P.M. ON MAY 8, MICHAEL AVENATTI, THE UBIQUITOUS lawyer for adult-film star Stormy Daniels, tweeted a bombshell. Avenatti, whose client is suing President Trump, said he had obtained a list of alleged wire transfers dating from October 2016 to January 2018 into and out of a company controlled by Michael Cohen, Trump's personal lawyer. Among the alleged inflows to Essential Consultants LLC: half a million dollars from a firm controlled by an aluminum baron close to Russian President Vladimir Putin and hundreds of thousands of dollars from companies with business before the Trump Administration, including telecom giant AT&T and Swiss pharmaceutical behemoth Novartis. Going out, Avenatti claims: the now famous $130,000 mystery-money payment to Daniels, hundreds of thousands of dollars to Cohen's own bank accounts and millions of dollars in unaccounted for payments to unknown parties.

In the hours following the tweet, several of Cohen's clients confirmed the payments, and it became clear that a new front had opened up in Trump's legal and political battlefield. For the past year, Trump had railed against the investigation led by special counsel Robert Mueller as a witch hunt into nonexistent election collusion with Russia. Avenatti's disclosures, coming just a month after an FBI raid of Cohen's temporary residence and office, showed that the Justice Department probe has expanded to encompass the business and political activities of Trump's inner circle during the transition and under his presidency, including payments allegedly made in the President's personal interest. The broadening investigation is a problem for Trump that firing Mueller can't solve.

Trump's personal attorney Michael Cohen in New York City on April 11


Additional Possible Fraudulent and Illegal Financial Transactions

- From October 2016 through January 2018, Mr. Cohen used his First Republic account to engage in suspicious financial transactions totaling $4,425,033.46.
- Chief among these suspicious financial transactions are approximately $500,000 in payments received from Mr. Viktor Vekselberg, a Russian Oligarch with an estimated net worth of nearly $13 Billion. Mr. Vekselberg and his cousin Mr. Andrew Intrater routed eight payments to Mr. Cohen through a company named Columbus Nova LLC ("Columbus") beginning in January 2017 a[illegible] August 2017.
- Also included in these suspicious financial transactions are four payments in late 2017 and early 2018 totaling $399,920 made by global pharmaceutical giant Novartis directly to Essential in four separate transactions of $99,980 each (just below $100,000). Following these payments, reports surfaced that Mr. Trump took a dinner meeting with the incoming CEO of Novartis before Mr. Trump's speech at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland in late January 2018.

https://www.fiercepharma.com/[illegible]/during-davos-trip-trump-takes-meeting

Inside the Avenatti document
As part of Stormy Daniels' suit against the President, her lawyer Michael Avenatti alleged that millions of dollars of payments went into and out of a company set up in October 2016 by Trump's personal lawyer Michael Cohen.

Later that evening, Trump's lawyers Jay Sekulow and Rudy Giuliani left a message for the President—they didn't want to take Trump away from monitoring his Secretary of State's negotiations over the release of three Americans from North Korea, so they said it wasn't urgent. At around 8:30 p.m., Trump got on the phone. "I don't know anything about it," Trump told his lawyers, and after about 15 minutes spent going over the details, Giuliani told TIME, Trump signed off. "It doesn't involve him," Giuliani said. "Nobody's concerned about it." Giuliani denies that the company was used for payouts on Trump's behalf. Cohen did not respond to TIME's requests for comment.

In the perverse pay-to-play world that Washington has become, it's not clear that any of the Essential Consultants transactions were illegal. It's common for powerful corporations to hire Washington insiders to influence government decisions: *Fortune* 500 companies spend hundreds of millions of dollars each year on efforts to revise pending rules or regulations, halt or shape new legislation, and otherwise sway lawmakers to serve their interests. Nor do the documents make clear whether Cohen, who is reportedly under federal investigation for possible bank fraud and violation of election laws, was simply enriching himself without Trump's knowledge. Cohen reportedly used the company to pay for his own luxury expenses, like a Mercedes-Benz and private club dues. Cohen did not respond to TIME's requests for comment, but on May 9 his attorney filed court papers challenging portions of Avenatti's account.

But in the larger sense, the payments to and from the President's personal lawyer may well be damaging to Trump on a number of fronts. They validate the continuing Justice Department probe and raise a host of questions that any prosecutor in the nation would feel compelled to answer: Was Trump aware of payments made on his behalf? Did he know where the money came from? Did he do anything in return, either in a personal or an official capacity?

Moreover, the revelations underscore Trump's disregard for presidential ethics, despite his campaign pledge to drain the swamp. They threaten to erode Trump's grip on supporters who don't much care about Russia but may have less patience for influence peddling. Democrats certainly hope so. "This investigation has completely metastasized," says Zac Petkanas, a Democratic strategist who is tracking the investigation. "It has many different heads, and not all of them are Russian heads."

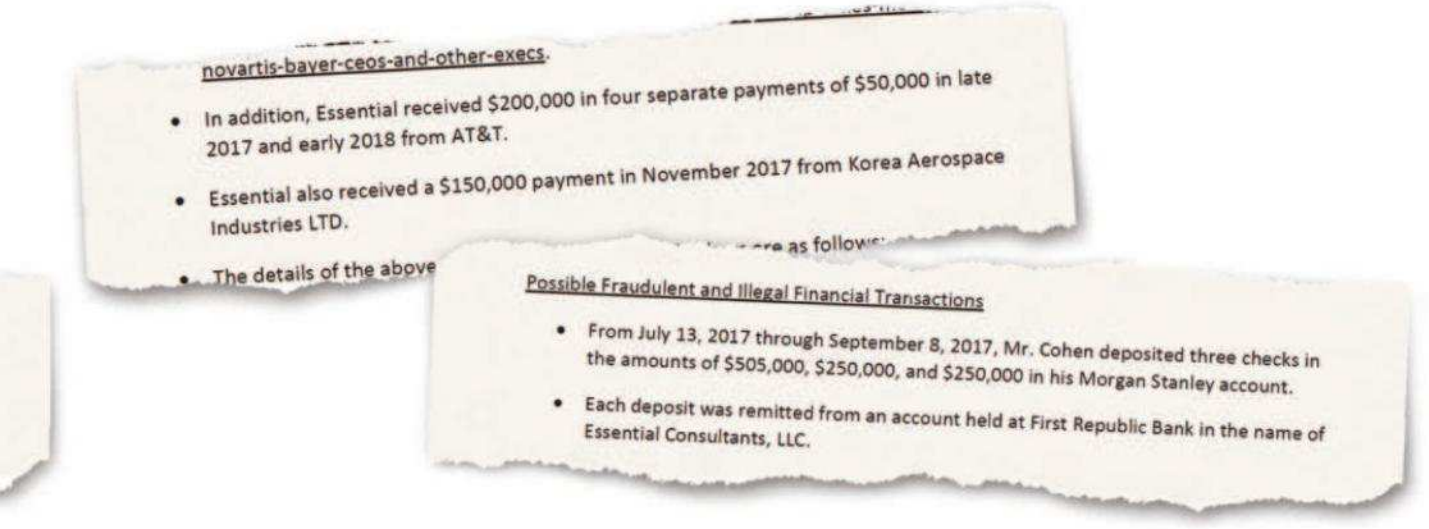
FOR A MULTIMILLION-DOLLAR company, Essential Consultants has a light footprint. It has no website, no board and no employees. Cohen, the sole owner of the firm, legally established it in mid-October 2016, about a week after the *Access Hollywood* tape that captured Trump bragging about grabbing women's genitals upended the presidential race. About 10 days later, Cohen allegedly used the company to make the $130,000 payment to Daniels, through her then lawyer Keith Davidson in an effort to keep her from talking about the affair she says she had with Trump in 2006, shortly before the birth of Trump's son Barron.

Trump talked with his lawyers late on May 8 about the new allegations

That was just the beginning. Cohen received or disbursed at least $4.4 million between late 2016 and into this year. Some of the largest payments to Essential Consultants came from companies that appeared to have tangible financial interests pending before the U.S. government at the time. In 2017, for example, AT&T stood to gain enormously if the Justice Department approved its proposed merger with Time Warner. Avenatti contends that AT&T began a series of payments to Essential Consultants in October, which totaled $200,000 by January 2018. In a May 8 statement, AT&T said it had hired Cohen "to provide insights into understanding the new Administration."

Another major payment to Cohen's company arrived in November 2017 from Korea Aerospace Industries. The aircraft manufacturer is bidding for a multibillion-dollar contract to provide trainer jets for the Air Force, alongside American defense contractor Lockheed Martin. Korea Aerospace paid Essential Consultants $150,000 for what it says was advice on accounting standards on production costs—an area of expertise that appears outside Cohen's bailiwick.

Swiss pharma giant Novartis also has a particular set of interests in the workings of the new U.S. Administration. In March 2017, a court ordered the company to turn over records related to a long-running federal investigation into alleged kickbacks and bribes paid to U.S. doctors.



Former Novartis CEO Joe Jimenez met with Trump in late January 2017. Starting in February that year, the company paid Essential Consultants $100,000 a month for services focused on "U.S. health care policy matters." After Novartis executives met with Cohen in March, the company "determined that Michael Cohen and Essentials Consultants would be unable to provide the services that Novartis had anticipated," a spokesman said on May 9. Novartis nevertheless kept up the payments for a full year, until the contract expired.

What, if anything, it received in return is unclear. Last year, the FDA approved Rydapt, a mast cell disorder and leukemia drug, and the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services approved limited reimbursements for its rare-blood-cancer drug, Kymriah, which runs $475,000 for a course of a treatment. Incoming chief executive Vasant Narasimhan was also invited to an exclusive sit-down dinner with Trump at the World Economic Forum in Davos in January 2018.

On May 9, the company confirmed that its arrangement with Essential Consultants has attracted the attention of Mueller's team, which questioned the company over its payments to Cohen. "In hindsight, this must be seen as a mistake," Novartis spokesman Michael Willi told Reuters.

Perhaps most intriguing, though, are the $500,000 in payments to Essential Consultants from Columbus Nova, a New York investment firm whose biggest client is the Renova Group, which is, in turn, controlled by the Russian oligarch Viktor Vekselberg. Vekselberg and Renova are both under U.S. sanctions imposed in retaliation for Russia's meddling in the 2016 election. Earlier this year, investigators with special counsel Mueller reportedly questioned Vekselberg about his investments in Columbus Nova's private equity funds. A lawyer for Columbus Nova wrote in a statement May 8 that the firm's payment to Essential Consultants had no connection to Vekselberg.

THE WHITE HOUSE brushes off the Avenatti allegations. "This is yet another irrelevant thing that is made into a big thing," Giuliani told TIME. Avenatti, for his part, says more is coming. "We've only begun to scratch the surface relating to the information we have," he tells TIME. "We have a whole host of additional information relating to Essential Consultants."

That's bad news for Trump. "There's certainly a corruption angle here," says former federal prosecutor Renato Mariotti, noting that it is not clear what Cohen was being paid to do. "He doesn't appear to have any set of skills that can answer [that]."

The disclosures make clear that the Justice Department's investigations are in fact expanding and accelerating into territory Trump has previously said the lawmen have no business looking at.

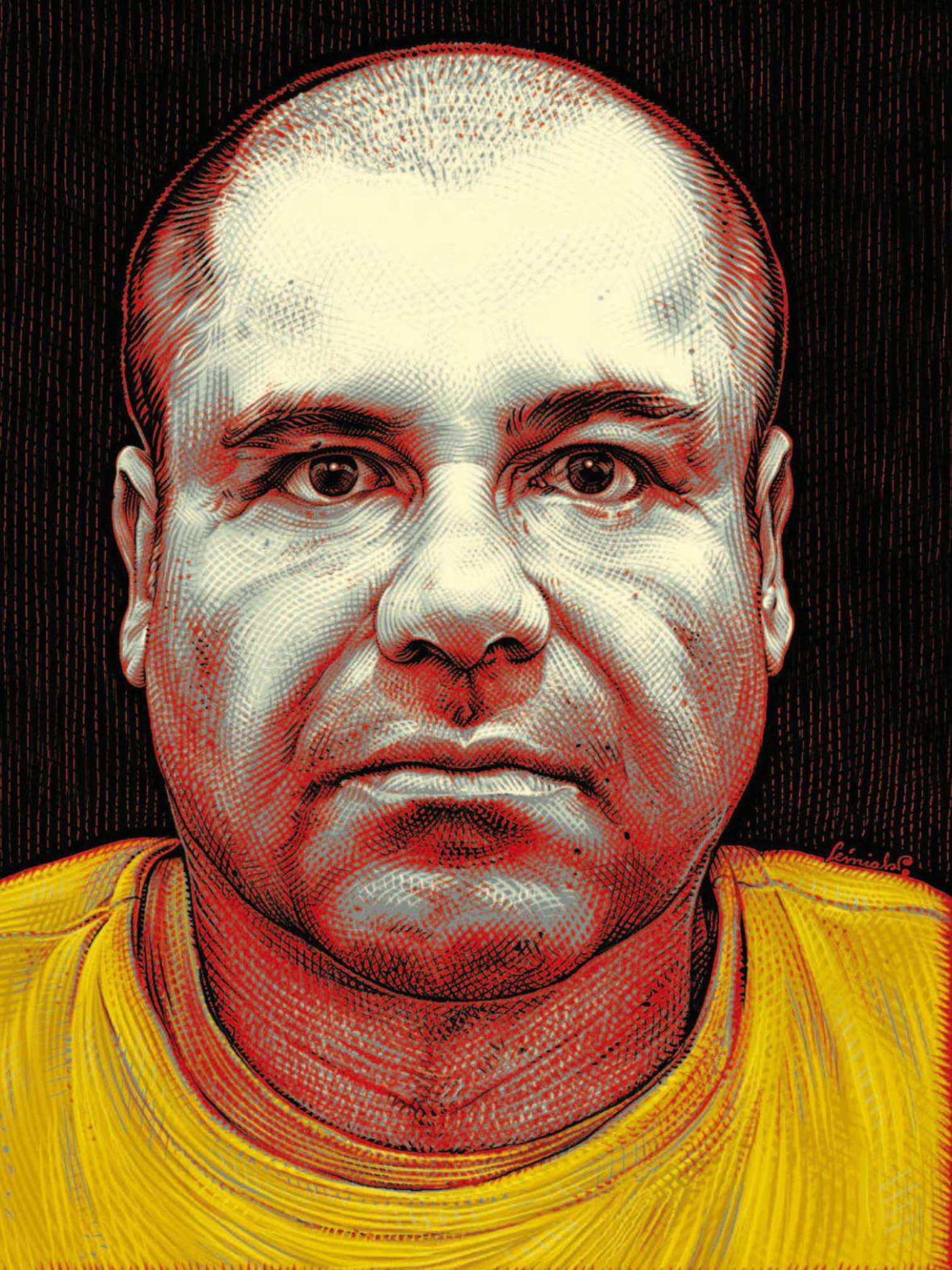
Avenatti, whose client is suing Trump, speaks to the media

Experts were quick to place the range of possible legal liabilities from negligible to catastrophic: possible lines of inquiry include bank fraud, campaign-finance or Lobbying Disclosure Act violations, and even bribery. "If the money passed through a shell to Trump," wrote Harvard law professor Noah Feldman in Bloomberg, "it will look as if Trump's fixer set up a shell company to accept bribes on the President's behalf."

Trump campaigned against Washington corruption, and the work of Cohen's company may be a particularly stark example of it: money flowing in from foreign interests and big corporations with business before the President, producing undisclosed results on the other side. Which means that when it comes to questionable behavior by Trump and his allies, the President is no longer liable just to the traditional square-jawed work of Justice Department prosecutors, but also to the slash-and-burn tactics he himself rose to power employing.

Avenatti is the first to acknowledge he is turning Trump's playbook against him. The California lawyer says that back when he was in college at the University of Pennsylvania, he took a class where Trump's longtime hard-knuckled political adviser Roger Stone made a memorable guest appearance. "You could say that Roger Stone taught me a lot of the skills I'm using today," Avenatti says wryly. Whether that ends up being more damaging to Trump than the traditional legal investigation remains to be seen, but it's clear now that the President faces a whole new kind of fight. —*With reporting by* MOLLY BALL, TESSA BERENSON, NASH JENKINS *and* JUSTIN WORLAND/WASHINGTON; *and* ALANA ABRAMSON *and* SUSANNA SCHROBSDORFF/NEW YORK ◻

TRUMP: OLIVIER DOULIERY—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; AVENATTI: DREW ANGERER—GETTY IMAGES



WHERE THE LEGEND OF EL CHAPO WAS BORN

As Joaquín Guzmán finally faces justice, America's war on drugs is also on the defense

BY IOAN GRILLO/LA TUNA

WHEN JOAQUÍN "EL CHAPO" Guzmán was born in the rugged village of La Tuna in Mexico's Sierra Madre mountains in 1957, the houses were made of mud, there was no electricity or running water and mules provided the only form of transport. His mother described how she and his father scraped by growing beans and corn on the rocky slopes to care for him and his 10 siblings. "They were difficult times. We longed for something better," Consuelo Loera, Guzmán's 88-year-old mother, tells TIME as she looks out at the homes and farmsteads clinging to the sun-soaked hillside. Known as El Chapo (or Shorty) for his diminutive, stocky stature, Guzmán toiled as a child to help bring food to the table, hauling sacks of oranges around the hills to sell to peasant farmers for a few pesos. "He always fought for a better life," Loera says, "even as a small boy."

Six decades later, Guzmán languishes in New York City's highest-security prison, accused of trafficking drugs worth $14 billion into the U.S.—one of the biggest narcotics cases in U.S. criminal history. His mother lives not in a muddy shack but in a sprawling brick compound with guards outside on quad bikes brandishing Kalashnikovs. "I just talked to him by telephone," Loera says. "He is putting on a brave face. He has always been someone who acts as if everything is fine."

Loera and other locals say they hope Guzmán, who was extradited to the U.S. hours before President Donald Trump took the oath of office in January 2017, will beat the case and walk free—to return here as he did at times when he was on the run after escaping from Mexican prisons in 2001 and again in 2015. That would be quite a feat considering that Guzmán, 61, has been indicted in seven U.S. federal districts and is accused of being the leader of the Sinaloa Cartel, the murderous

ILLUSTRATION BY PIOTR LESNIAK FOR TIME

organization that prosecutors describe as the world's largest and most prolific drug-trafficking organization.

But unlike dozens of other Mexican drug lords who have been extradited to the U.S. in recent years and pleaded guilty, usually as part of deals, Guzmán has declared himself innocent—prompting a trial that is scheduled for September in a federal court in Brooklyn.

The prosecution's case, as outlined in a 56-page detention memorandum, accuses Guzmán of crimes across three decades, a span taking in six Mexican Presidents, $1 trillion in American drug-war spending, millions of cocaine highs and thousands of violent deaths. His alleged rise to become one of the world's most notorious cartel chiefs parallels the shifting war on drugs, which was first declared by President Richard Nixon in 1971 and led to the crack wars of the 1980s, the crystal-meth scare at the turn of the millennium and the heroin epidemic of today.

It has left a trail of victims to rival any conventional war. In the U.S., there were more than 15,000 heroin-related deaths in 2016, a fivefold increase since 2010. In Mexico, the clash between rival cartels fighting one another and security forces over billion-dollar trafficking routes and other rackets is estimated to have killed more than 119,000 people over a decade. If the war on drugs were classified as a military conflict, it would be one of the world's deadliest.

At the Brooklyn trial, prosecutors are likely to emphasize the historic links between crack cocaine and local violence. "Nowhere was the devastating impact of the introduction of cocaine into the U.S. felt more acutely than in New York and Miami in the 1980s," they wrote in the detention memo. (Prosecutors declined to comment on the case beyond the memo.) Over the decades, drug selling led to thousands of murders in inner cities across the country, and in turn, the imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of people for possession and dealing.

The strategy of the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) was to move away from those low-level cases and go after the world's biggest kingpins. Agents claim that Guzmán is the biggest of them all, the ultimate target of the DEA's long and bloody campaign against cartels.

But while a conviction of Guzmán would be seen as a victory for the DEA and other agencies, a trial may also shine a light on dubious practices by U.S. agents and on Washington's financial support for Mexican security forces, even as cartels pay off some Mexican police and soldiers. And it could highlight how taking down kingpins has failed to stop both the supply of narcotics to Americans and the bloodshed south of the border. In other words, it could put the war on drugs itself on trial—while the world is watching.

"It will certainly explore the tactics that drug warriors have used over the decades," says Alejandro Hope, a former Mexican intelligence officer. "But will it change much? I am not sure."

ALONG THIS STRETCH of mountains in Mexico, pink opium poppies have flowered since the late 19th century, brought over by Chinese migrants working in mines and on the railroads. When Washington first restricted opium in the 1914 Harrison Act, the illicit drug trade from Sinaloa into the U.S. was born. The poppy pickers became known as "gummers," or *gomeros,* in reference to the stodgy black opium paste they extract and use to make heroin. Today many major traffickers hail from the Golden Triangle—as it's known for its booming drug production—that crosses the Mexican states of Sinaloa, Chihuahua and Durango.

Guzmán has said he first joined the gummers when he was 15, which would be in 1972 or 1973. "There [were] no job opportunities," he said in a video posted by *Rolling Stone* in January 2016. "The way … to be able to buy food is to grow poppy and marijuana, and from that age I began to grow it, to harvest it, to sell it … Drug trafficking is already part of a culture that originated from the ancestors."

In these mountain villages, many see Guzmán as a superhero who outwitted both the Mexican government and the gringos. Songs, movies, books and TV series all helped propel Guzmán to a legendary status. Worldwide, his notoriety is comparable with that of the Colombian cocaine king Pablo Escobar. In 2013, the Chicago Crime Commission (CCC) named Guzmán as Public Enemy No. 1, the only other person besides Al Capone that the CCC has given the title. *Forbes* magazine added to the legend by putting Guzmán on its billionaires list for several years.

In February, Guzmán's mother sits outside an evangelical church next to her home in La Tuna

Guzmán has apparently taken steps to burnish his image in Mexico. Residents here tell stories of how he appeared suddenly at village fiestas, handing out

Some employers are giving workers extra benefits in an effort to encourage them to take the offer

KIRSTEN LUCE FOR TIME

rolls of cash to adoring crowds. "He is a leader, a hero for many people here, because he started from below, very poor, a peasant, and he helps people," says Baldomar Cáceres, a singer and former teacher from a nearby village. "He builds roads where there is only dirt. He pays for the hospital treatment of the sick." In contrast, the government has often failed to provide basic infrastructure for these poor, remote villages.

But Sinaloa has paid dearly for the

wars raging among rival drug traffickers. The dead include not just the foot soldiers, but also ordinary people who may have witnessed their crimes or just angered the wrong gangster. In 2014, gunmen dragged away Roberto Corrales, a 21-year-old compact-disc seller in the town of Los Mochis. After police failed to find him, his mother, Mirna Nereyda Medina, joined other family members of the missing to search for burial sites. Cartel hit men often bury those they kill,

leaving clandestine graves amid the hills.

Finally, in 2017, she discovered a mass grave with fragmented bones that were identified as belonging to her son. "The pain never goes away," says Medina, a teacher. "It angers me how people make these criminals into heroes without thinking about the harm they are doing."

Guzmán's entry into the narco world came at a pivotal moment in drug policy. After American drug use grew with the 1960s counterculture, Nixon called for "a worldwide offensive" against street drugs in 1971. He went on to create the DEA to spearhead this war, and it soon deployed agents from Afghanistan to Colombia to go after the narcotics producers and traffickers in their homelands. Mexico was already a significant supplier of heroin and marijuana by the 1970s and became over the ensuing decades the dominant drug-trafficking power in the Americas.

Critics of the war on drugs point to the balloon effect of enforcement: when you apply pressure in one place, the air simply rushes to another place. When agents and gunboats cracked down on Colombians flying cocaine across the Caribbean into Miami in the 1980s, the smugglers turned to Mexico's 2,000-mile border, from which the Sinaloans had long trafficked their products.

Prosecutors say Guzmán dealt directly with Colombian cocaine kings who flew the substance from the Andean jungles to Mexico in groups of planes, each carrying close to a ton of product. He would smuggle it into California, Arizona and Texas "in record time," prosecutors say, earning him another nickname: El Rápido. He is accused of transforming tunnels, which began as natural underground rivers below border cities like Nogales, into sprawling structures with railcars and electric lights.

Mike Vigil, a former head of international operations for the DEA, who spent 13 years working in Mexico, says the Sinaloa cartel became an entity similar to a major corporation with franchises. "It mirrors McDonald's, and Chapo Guzmán would be like the CEO. He would handle the big strategy and logistics and then allow subsidiaries to work on different elements of the business," Vigil says.

However, a relative of Guzmán's who asked not to be identified by name told TIME that his wealth has been wildly exaggerated. "He has power because people listen to him and trust him. But they will not find any billions," he says. In the *Rolling Stone* video, Guzmán himself denied being the head of a cartel, saying, "The people who dedicate their lives to this activity don't depend on me."

Violence rose in Mexico starting in the 1990s as cocaine profits transformed the smugglers from sandal-wearing farmers into heavily armed members of cartels. In May 1993, gunmen shot dead the Archbishop of Guadalajara, shocking the nation. Mexico's attorney general claimed that the assassins worked for the Tijuana cartel and were really after Guzmán. The following month, police in Guatemala captured Guzmán near its northern border and deported him to Mexico, where he began his first prison term.

Guzmán continued to run his cartel empire from behind bars, prosecutors claim, before he was said to have bribed guards to let him ride out in a laundry cart in 2001. With Guzmán on the loose, gangland violence intensified as the Sinaloa cartel battled rivals like the Zetas, former soldiers who had defected to the narcos. President Felipe Calderón launched a military offensive against the cartels in 2006, which the U.S. supported under the Mérida Initiative, a cross-border partnership to fight organized crime. Over the following decade, the U.S. gave $1.6 billion worth of aid to Mexico, including Black Hawk helicopters and wiretap gear against cartels. But the violence only intensified further as gangsters hit back against the security forces and one another, unleashing shoot-outs in city centers and leaving piles of severed heads in plazas.

The bloodiest battleground was Ciudad Juárez, bordering El Paso, which saw more than 9,500 murders over four years, devastating a generation of young men who were recruited from the slums by the cartels. Prosecutors say they will prove links between this slaughter and Guzmán, who they allege was fighting against Juárez drug lord Vicente Carrillo Fuentes. "One witness is expected to testify to the activities of one of Guzmán's *sicarios* [hit men] during the Vicente Carrillo war in Juárez, including his use of a house specially outfitted for murdering 20 victims," the memo says. "The house had plastic sheets over the walls to catch spouting blood."

The 2014 capture of Guzmán was one of the biggest triumphs for Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto. But the alleged kingpin's escape the following year from Mexico's top security prison was one of his biggest embarrassments. Officials said Guzmán left through a mile-long tunnel with a rail line. But trust in the government is so bad that one survey found only 46% of respondents believed

POSTER: DEA/REUTERS; 1993: AFP/GETTY IMAGES; 2014: SUSANA GONZALEZ—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; 2015: EDGARD GARRIDO—REUTERS; 2016: REBECCA BLACKWELL—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

THE DRUG LORD WHO KEPT GETTING AWAY

Joaquín "El Chapo" Guzmán is famed for his alleged drug empire and his legendary prison escapes. Here's a look at his life on the run:

EARLY 1980S

Guzmán establishes himself as a drug-smuggling logistics expert for the Guadalajara Cartel, one of the leading criminal organizations in Mexico.

1989

The Guadalajara Cartel is split into factions, one of which, the Sinaloa Cartel, falls under Guzmán's control.

JUNE 1993

Guatemalan authorities arrest Guzmán and deport him to Mexico. He is sentenced to 20 years in prison. He continues to run cartel operations from prison.

JANUARY 2001

With help from prison employees, Guzmán escapes, possibly in a laundry cart that gets wheeled out of prison. For years, he is wanted by Mexican, U.S. and Interpol authorities.

this version; many thought he just bribed his way out the door.

In 2016, Peña Nieto regained some face when Mexican marines recaptured Guzmán. "Mission accomplished," he tweeted. "We've got him." The timing of the extradition, hours before Trump took power, was seen by some pundits here as an offering to the new American President who had pummeled Mexico in his campaign.

Now that Guzmán is on U.S. soil, a conviction would be an example to other major traffickers, says Vigil. But if he were set free, it would discourage Mexico and other countries from extraditing such criminals in the future, he says. "If they don't get a conviction, it is going to be a big black eye on American justice."

MORE THAN 2,000 MILES from the Sinaloa mountains, a crack team of federal prosecutors in Brooklyn are preparing for a trial that could last months. Leading Guzman's defense is A. Eduardo Balarezo, a Washington-based lawyer with a history of handling high-profile drug cases. Media attention is expected to be enormous, and the jury members will be kept anonymous for their safety.

The trial will showcase a cross-border effort to bring in the kingpin; Mexican security forces were able to arrest Guzmán with the help of U.S. intelligence. But it could also highlight the deep problems of Mexican law enforcement. Throughout the memo, prosecutors allege that Guzmán used the profits from his drug empire to buy Mexican officials at all levels. "Many witnesses are expected to testify concerning Guzmán's payment of bribes to politicians and members of law enforcement to ensure that Mexican criminal laws were not enforced," it says.

'HE IS A HERO FOR MANY PEOPLE HERE, BECAUSE HE STARTED FROM BELOW ... AND HE HELPS PEOPLE.'

—Baldomar Cáceres, teacher

Sinaloa politician Manuel Clouthier, who is running as an independent for the Senate, says corruption goes deeper than has been exposed so far. "The interests of narco trafficking run to the highest level that you can imagine," he says. "Organized crime does not exist without institutional support."

Corruption among Mexican officials is hardly news; hundreds of police officers, generals and state governors have been charged for working with drug traffickers over the years. But exposing such dishonesty in an American court may also undermine the U.S. efforts south of the border.

Prosecutors will offer testimony from dozens of convicted Mexican and Colombian drug traffickers to explain how they worked with Guzmán to move tons of cocaine, heroin, marijuana and crystal meth into the U.S. and carry out mass murder south of the Rio Grande. Balarezo tells TIME that he will question the credibility of these witnesses, who he says could have made deals for lower sentences in exchange for their testimony; he also plans to challenge the broader tactics of American agents in their decades of following Guzmán.

In previous controversies, to try and build conspiracy cases against major targets, members of various agencies have been found paying informants who are actively committing serious crimes and letting thousands of guns be trafficked to killers. "Some of the ways that the DEA operates abroad are unethical or illegal," Balarezo says. "They are walking a thin line and sometimes stepping over it."

Officials from U.S. Customs and Border Protection have also been convicted of taking bribes to let drug loads through over the years. And there have been scandals over the techniques of American agents fighting cartels. In 2004, journalist Alfredo Corchado exposed how U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement had a paid informant involved in murders in Juárez. In 2011, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives was heavily criticized for failing to act as it watched nearly 2,000 guns be purchased in Arizona for Mexican cartels.

That history may be exploited by the defense in Guzmán's case. In 2011, Sinaloa trafficker Jesús Vicente Zambada filed a motion in a Chicago court saying he could not be prosecuted because he was a DEA informant in a wider deal between the Sinaloa cartel and U.S. agents to take out rivals. That alleged deal could factor into the Guzmán case. "When we go to trial, a look at the meetings between the DEA and drug traffickers is definitely fair game," Balarezo says.

However, the security expert Hope says any exposure of DEA tactics may be more "embarrassing" than "earth shattering." "My guess is it will confirm many people's biases," he says.

FEBRUARY 2014

After eluding Mexican authorities for days using underground tunnels, Guzmán is captured, ending a 13-year manhunt.

JULY 2015

Guzmán again escapes prison through a tunnel dug under a shower in his prison cell. The tunnel, 33 ft. underground, is about 5.5 ft. tall, 28 in. wide and about a mile long.

JANUARY 2016

Mexico's naval special forces attempt to capture Guzmán in a house in the town of Los Mochis. Guzmán initially gets away through a tunnel but is eventually caught by local police.

JANUARY 2017

Guzmán is extradited to the U.S. and placed in a high-security facility in New York City. He pleads not guilty to charges including running a criminal enterprise, unlawfully using firearms and money laundering.

SEPTEMBER 2018

Guzmán's trial is scheduled to begin.

The defense also faces daunting challenges. The Metropolitan Correctional Center, where Guzmán is held, is one of the U.S.'s harshest prisons, and high-risk inmates are kept isolated under glaring fluorescent lights. "His memory is deteriorating," Balarezo says. "He is isolated 23 hours a day, and we can only see him in a tiny little room with a glass screen."

In another twist, the actor Sean Penn and *Rolling Stone* could play a role. Following the last arrest of Guzmán, in the Sinaloa town of Los Mochis in January 2016, the magazine published a story by Penn in which he described how he and Mexican actor Kate del Castillo met Guzmán in the mountains while he was on the lam. It also released a video of Guzmán answering questions and describing some involvement in the drug trade. Vigil says the video could be vital evidence. "You have him on tape clearly confessing that he is involved in drugs." In an interview, Penn told TIME he wasn't concerned for himself about the footage being used. "That's a video that [Guzmán] voluntarily made and sent," he says. "Those are decisions he made."

In the mountains of the Golden Triangle, the trial will be watched closely, especially by the young men who idolize Guzmán. Village shops even sell baseball caps that feature the words CHAPO and C.D.S., meaning Cartel de Sinaloa. Despite the decade-long military offensive against cartels, gunmen still move openly in these remote heights. In February, TIME witnessed men roaming around in combat gear and ski masks holding up rifles.

The huge effort to capture Guzmán and put him on trial has failed to stop the Sinaloa Cartel from recruiting a new generation. One group of youths stand on a ridge above the road bearing guns and speaking into radios as they take note of vehicles going by; they are known as *halcones,* or hawks, a role that the traffickers often fill at the beginning of their cartel careers. Without a more effective counter to the drug trade, the kingpins of the future could be among them. *—With reporting by* MIGUEL ÁNGEL VEGA/LA TUNA *and* NATE HOPPER/NEW YORK ◻

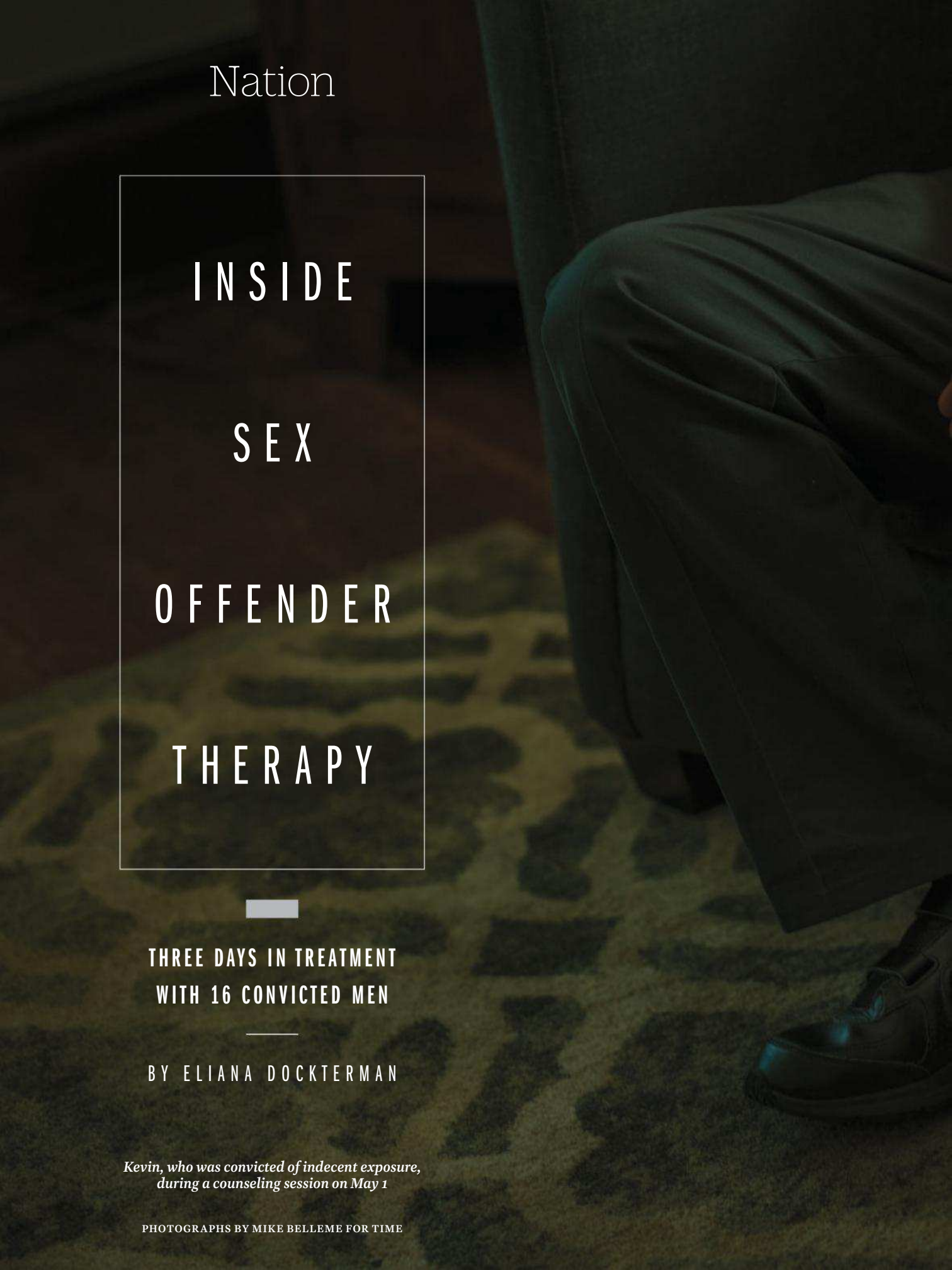
José, who calls Guzmán an uncle, hosts a barbecue with family and friends near Guzmán's mother's compound

KIRSTEN LUCE FOR TIME

INSIDE SEX OFFENDER THERAPY

THREE DAYS IN TREATMENT WITH 16 CONVICTED MEN

BY ELIANA DOCKTERMAN



Kevin, who was convicted of indecent exposure, during a counseling session on May 1

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MIKE BELLEME FOR TIME

The men file in, a few wearing pressed button-down shirts, others jeans caked in mud from work on a construction site. They meet in the living room of an old taupe bungalow on a leafy street in a small Southern city.

Someone has shoved a workout bike into the corner to make room for a circle of overstuffed chairs dug up at the local Goodwill. The men jockey for a coveted recliner and settle in. They are complaining about co-workers and debating the relative merits of various trucks when a faint beeping interrupts the conversation. One man picks up a throw pillow and tries to muffle the sound of the battery running low on his ankle bracelet, a reminder of why they are all there.

Every one of the eight men in the room has been convicted of a sex crime and mandated by a court to see a therapist. Depending on the offense, their treatment can last several months or several years. (TIME has given both the men and the therapists pseudonyms in this story.)

They sit in the circle, the man who exposed himself to at least 100 women, next to the man who molested his stepdaughter, across from the man who sexually assaulted his neighbor. The group includes Matt, whose online chats led to prison; Rob, who was arrested for statutory rape; and Kevin, who spent decades masturbating next to women in movie theaters.

Some of the men's crimes aren't all that different from the allegations against public figures such as Kevin Spacey, Bill Cosby, Harvey Weinstein and Roy Moore. Unlike the famous men, they cannot afford lawyers to draft nondisclosure agreements, or arrange hush-money payments, or appeal guilty verdicts, as Cosby's attorneys are planning to do following his conviction on sexual assault in April. (Cosby could also be ordered to seek therapy.) Nor can they attempt to stage professional comebacks or publish mea culpa memoirs.

Instead, these men were all found guilty and had their names added to a state sex-offender registry. They will remain on that list for decades and, in some cases, the rest of their lives. Anyone can search online for the ugly details of their crimes, including employers, partners and their own children. A judge has limited where most of the men in this room can live, work and socialize—and whether they can access the Internet. Some are unemployed, and many live paycheck to paycheck, dependent on the few employers who are willing to tolerate their criminal history.

The more than 800,000 registered sex offenders in the U.S. may feel that their parole restrictions are onerous, but the mere presence of a known offender in almost any community precipitates clashes of competing interests and legal battles that have only intensified in the wake of the #MeToo movement. In at least 10 recent lawsuits filed in states from Pennsylvania to Colorado, civil rights proponents argue that sex offenders face unconstitutional punishments that other criminals do not, and they note that there are no government registries for murderers or other violent felons in most states. The Supreme Court is scheduled to hear a case challenging the limits of the registry in its October term.

But advocates for the millions of women, men and children who have experienced sexual violence are pushing back on any reforms, and 12 states have passed or proposed further restrictions on offenders in the past year. "What most of my clients want is their attacker gone," says Lisa Anderson, a lawyer who represents survivors of rape. "If I could brand them with a scarlet letter on their forehead I would, because I don't want any woman hurt like that again."

Most people find it difficult to reconcile the hope that rehabilitation is possible with the impulse to push these men to the periphery of society forever. Punitive measures alone, however, have not been found to meaningfully increase community safety. Meanwhile, therapy—when paired with tough parole restrictions—can significantly reduce the chance of re-offending, according to the American Psychological Association. "It's hard for me to believe that someone could violently ignore the will of another and then be taught not to cross that line," says Anderson. "But if it's possible to teach them empathy, then that should be mandatory."

There are about 2,350 therapists across the nation who provide court-mandated treatment to sex offenders. (Counseling is also offered through prisons and other government institutions.) Judges refer the offenders to psychologists or clinical social workers who are authorized by states. In some cases, the government subsidizes the cost of treatment. Private therapists can refuse to see certain patients at their discretion.

Cheryl, a clinical social worker, and Jennifer, a licensed professional counselor, oversee the weekly meetings in the bungalow. They have worked with both victims and perpetrators for almost 20 years. They do not have to accept all referrals from the

Cheryl, a clinical social worker, has been treating registered sex offenders for almost 20 years

state—and they say there are certain men they simply won't treat, such as those who repeatedly prey on children, and seem unwilling to change. But they say that by the time most of their patients leave therapy, they are equipped to take responsibility for their actions, to understand what led them to commit their crimes and, finally, to empathize with their victims. "Working with these men and watching them change actually gives me hope for all men," says Jennifer. "Because if people can't change and grow, well, then what are we going to do with all these bad men in the news, with all the bad men who are still out there?"

Unable to silence the ankle bracelet, Cheryl and Jennifer decide to start the session despite the distraction. "The topic on the table today," Cheryl says, "is how we failed ourselves and others and how we hold ourselves accountable for that failure."

Matt, 30, grips a pillow on the couch as he recounts his story. He had always had trouble talking to girls. He would lose track of his words and fidget. In high school, he turned to chat rooms where nobody could see his awkward mannerisms. He started skipping class and parties to talk online. The conversations fueled his sexual fantasies.

"It led to a devaluation of whoever was on the other side," he says. "They weren't a person. They were a means to an end. I never actually hurt anyone physically. But I left an emotional holocaust."

He met his fiancée not in a chat room but at college. He was studying political science in the hopes of becoming a lawyer and maybe, someday, a Senator. He aspired to higher office, he says, "'cause nobody is going to say: A United States Senator? What a f-cking loser." He says doctors diagnosed him with everything from ADD to depression to borderline personality disorder. (Jennifer believes that Matt is somewhere on the autism spectrum.)

Even while in a relationship, Matt continued to linger in chat rooms. When he was 26, he met what he thought was a 14-year-old girl online. He had been arguing with his fiancée, but this girl laughed at his jokes and spent just as much time in front of the computer as he did. After the chats became sexual, she asked to see him in real life. Eventually he agreed to meet her at a Walmart across town from his job.

"I get there, and there's nobody there. I'm excited. I'm just like, 'Nothing bad can happen now. I can go back to work where I'm supposed to be,'" he

says. "Not two seconds later I see these blue lights, and hear, 'Police. Get on the ground.' Turns out [the 14-year-old] was a police officer the whole time."

The consequences were swift. Matt went to prison for 11 months. He lost his career and fiancée. He now works a job in construction that he says he hates.

As Matt recounts his story, Jennifer cuts in to ask him how he justified having a sexual conversation with a teenager in the first place. "I thought, At least I'm not touching her," Matt says. "I didn't think of a 14-year-old as a child. I thought of myself at that age being highly sexualized. I thought everyone was, or at least everyone was pretending to be."

"O.K., S-T-O-P," Jennifer interrupts. "That's a cognitive distortion, right there."

A sex offender, Jennifer later explains, often commits a crime by rationalizing it in some way: she wanted it, or my needs mattered more than hers. They convince themselves that a false notion is true—a cognitive distortion. Therapists' work often consists of challenging their clients' false beliefs and encouraging them to develop a more realistic view of the world.

There isn't one standard method for treating sex offenders. But many experts have come to agree that identifying motivations and thought patterns is essential. Still, some therapists favor a much more confrontational method. "I saw treatment providers shaming and demeaning people, and literally having people get on their knees and say, 'I'm f-cked up. I'm f-cked up. I'm f-cked up,'" Cheryl says. "I would much rather reach out my hand and say, 'Let's talk about how f-cked up you are.'"

Recent research published by the American Public

VIEWPOINT

LET US NOW PUNISH FAMOUS MEN

BY JILL FILIPOVIC

JUST ABOUT ANY HUMAN BEING HAS the ability to change, which is why our justice system sometimes claims to offer a chance at rehabilitation after retribution. But what about those who never face legal consequences? What about the ones who, instead, are tried in the court of public opinion?

Nearly all of the famous men felled by actions brought to light by the #MeToo movement face lesser consequences than the men who have served out prison sentences for what are in some cases similar accusations. Not being able to host a TV show, run a restaurant or embark on a comedy tour is not the same as being kept from getting even minimum-wage work, renting a home or voting. At worst, powerful men have lost their absurdly high-paying jobs and watched their social status take a hit. None, save for Bill Cosby, are facing any criminal penalties. None have truly been deprived of their freedom—and some are already hoping for a comeback.

It may seem unlikely that the public—and women in particular—will re-embrace men like Harvey Weinstein, Charlie Rose or Matt Lauer, or New York Attorney General Eric Schneiderman, who resigned on May 7 after four women accused him of physical abuse (which he denies). But Mike Tyson, who was convicted of raping an 18-year-old girl, has become comic relief in movies. Chris Brown beat up his girlfriend; he now has a hit song in which he casually mentions his "controversial past." Over a dozen women have publicly accused Donald Trump of violating them; he is the President.

Losing one's liberty—going to jail, being on probation or spending one's entire life on a sex-offender registry—is a serious penalty, and so the requirements to warrant it are high: a legal finding that one is guilty beyond a reasonable doubt, and a presumption of innocence until and unless that finding is made. But for the powerful, criminal convictions are rare, in part because these people have better tools to work the justice system and rarely fit the stereotype of a convict. So the court of public opinion ends up being where accusations—and just as often, accusers—are tried.

The presumption of innocence does not extend to the court of public opinion, though, precisely because the public alone can't jail anyone. This space is all we have to levy punishment, and so the burden falls on each of us to make fair rules and ensure that we exact extralegal penalties only when there is clear and convincing evidence of guilt.

This is bound to be an imperfect

Health Association suggests that focusing on punishments rather than positive goals can actually increase the chance of recidivism. In 2006, the Department of Justice endorsed more progressive methods such as the Good Lives Model, which aims to teach people how to fulfill their emotional and physical needs without hurting others. That includes challenging sexist behaviors and skewed social views that lead them to hurt other people.

In one group session, Cheryl and Jennifer pose a scenario meant to do just that: a man walks into an office, and a female receptionist smiles at him. Should he ask her out on a date? Two 50-something men in the group say they've always assumed every time a woman smiles or wears a short skirt, she's coming on to them. One of the men in his early 30s argues that the receptionist has to be friendly to do her job. Jennifer points out that the receptionist is in an impossible position: if a valued customer hits on her, she may fear that she'll be fired if she rejects him.

After each weekly discussion, Cheryl and Jennifer give homework assignments, such as asking participants to fill in a timeline of high and low moments in their lives, or writing a statement from the perspective of their victims. Lately, they have asked their patients to discuss the dozens of men who are making headlines for alleged sex crimes.

Matt watched the trial of Larry Nassar, the USA Gymnastics doctor who was sentenced to up to 175 years in prison for molesting more than 160 women and girls. "The prosecutor was calling him a menace to society, and I'm like, Yeah, that guy is a menace to society," says Matt. "But the lawyer in my case was using the same phrase about me. I'm not claiming I'm some great guy or whatever, but I didn't use my power to hurt [hundreds of] people."

The consensus in this group, which includes men who trafficked in child pornography and men

system. There is no such thing as time served after a conviction in the court of public opinion, which makes fairness a concern—one further muddled by the breadth of misdeeds encompassed by #MeToo. Not every transgression deserves the same punishment. Yet while the accused should not be treated like the criminally convicted (and they aren't), having people pay no penalties at all, despite huge volumes of evidence against them, seems infinitely worse.

Demanding that women exchange sexual favors for career opportunity is another type of violation, as is punishing them when they refuse. But while those acts are exploitative, they're unlikely to land a man in criminal court. (Ashley Judd is currently testing the civil system against Weinstein.) Situations like these reveal the value of social punishment, including professional blackballing.

ABUSING ONE'S POWER, and abusing other human beings, should come with consequences. Just as doctors who use their prescribing power to peddle drugs should lose their licenses, men who may have used their positions of authority to sexually objectify or even assault women should not have jobs that give them the power to make or break the careers of female subordinates. Even if we soften the truth of their assaults

> "Losing one's celebrity is not ruination, nor is it penitence"

by characterizing them as "groping" or "grabbing." Even if this sentencing exists outside the legal system.

Instead of strategizing their returns, these famous men should think about what it truly means to make amends. Of course, if the whole thing is a frame-up, men should vigorously defend themselves. But so far, none of these high-profile stories have offered sufficient evidence to disprove the allegations against these men. And so they can start with an honest public accounting and a sincere apology—not just an "I'm sorry" with caveats that the details are wrong. They could ask the women who devote their lives to thinking about this: How can I right this wrong? They can compensate those to whom they ask that question. They can be open to the answer being "Retreat from the public eye." They can tamp down their egos enough to realize that quiet, kind lives are often very good lives. They can make peace with the fact that their version of a quiet life may be one in which they are occasionally "the guy who used to be on TV" or even "the #MeToo guy" to a passerby. They can recognize that they may never be publicly redeemed, but that private transformation is always possible.

We can use this fundamental understanding to shift from asking "When and how do we let these men return to power?" to examining the power structures that enabled their abuses—including the assumption that these men are a public necessity. We can demand dramatic changes to our institutions and our culture, including the creation of clear policies on reporting and punishing harassment, and fairer laws that would allow women their day in court.

If someone has paid penance for their wrongdoing, they do not deserve to have their lives ruined forever. But losing one's celebrity is not ruination, nor is it penitence. By suggesting that it is, too many of the men of #MeToo show that they haven't changed much at all.

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who assaulted their stepdaughters, is that Nassar is a monster. "They don't want to see themselves in those men," says Cheryl. "The men in group sense that these famous men are entitled."

While Matt sat on Jennifer and Cheryl's worn-down couch, forced to take responsibility for his offense, Harvey Weinstein—who is under investigation for rape in New York—was in Arizona at a spa-like treatment facility that charges $58,000 for a 45-day stay and is known for treating "sex addiction," a controversial diagnosis not found in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. Sex-addiction treatment is designed to help people with impulse-control issues and, like Alcoholics Anonymous, focuses on abstinence and avoiding triggers.

Experts emphasize that men who commit crimes like rape, assault and indecent exposure should receive sex-offender therapy, not sex-addiction therapy. Sexual behavior that is coercive or violent is a crime and very different from someone who compulsively cheats with a willing partner or misses work because he can't stop watching porn. Psychologists who work with sex offenders say many men try to use the "sex addiction" label as a way to abdicate responsibility for actions that are illegal and abusive. The only way for them to get better and to lessen their risk to society, therapists say, is to confront what they have done, not excuse it.

> "They weren't a person. They were a means to an end. I never actually hurt anyone physically. But I left an emotional holocaust."
>
> **MATT,** convicted for online solicitation of a minor

People have been sharing their problems with Cheryl all her life, even before she was a therapist. During a session, she lets every emotion show, frowning in sympathy and rolling her eyes when patients try to fool her. She began her career working with children who had been abused. When first offered a chance to work with sex offenders, she refused. But she decided to go to a session out of curiosity. "I was like, 'Oh, God, I'm walking into this group of disgusting, dirty, icky men," Cheryl says. But when she arrived, the men looked like her neighbors and friends, and some genuinely wanted to change. She decided to take on the challenge, and later she and Jennifer started up a practice.

They both still work with survivors and know that the damage these men have wrought on their victims cannot be undone. But they have come to believe counseling can curtail most offenders' impulses and allow them to function safely in society. "I hear the awfulest stories and even have to excuse myself to throw up," Cheryl says. "Sometimes these guys come in here complaining about having to drive a little further to get groceries because they're on the registry, and I'm like, 'To hell with you. Think of how your victim feels.'"

Many patients don't want to contend with what they've done to their victims—at least initially. Some therapists ask their patients to attend local sentencing hearings and listen to other victims' testimonies. Others instruct their patients to role-play as their victims. Cheryl opts for a more personal approach.

When Rob was 20 years old, he partied a lot. He would stay out late, ignoring his mom's texts and "drive home drunk, literally every night." He met a 15-year-old girl at a party and had sex with her. Her parents pressed charges, and Rob didn't tell his own mother until he had a court date set. He spent one year in prison for statutory rape and another two for parole violations. When he first met Cheryl, he told her, "Lady, I'll sit here, but I don't need therapy, and I don't care about this." Eventually, he became one of the most active members in the group.

He does electrical work now, thanks, he says, to the therapy he once dismissed. He got the job through a man who went through Cheryl's program before him. Rob recently proposed to his fiancée and has since brought her to a few individual therapy sessions. She is older than him and has two daughters; he can't attend their school plays or graduation.

Cheryl asks Rob how treatment has helped him to take responsibility for what he did. He speaks in vague terms about how he "f-cked up." Cheryl stops him. "Define what 'f-cked up' means. Be specific."

"I had a good job. I was working," he says. "Instead of listening to my family and the people who cared about me, I just rebelled."

A registered sex offender attends a therapy session with Cheryl

"And then what happened?"

"I committed my offense." He can't bring himself to say what that offense was.

"What were the consequences of that?"

"I lost everything."

"That's still about you, honey," Cheryl says. "What happened to your victim?"

"Her life was affected—I don't know how. I haven't had contact with her."

Cheryl changes tact. "You've almost got two stepdaughters about [your victim's age]. What do you think the impact would be on them, meeting someone like you when you were 20?"

"I mean, they'd be traumatized. They'd be—" he's quiet for a minute. "I can't think of the right word. I'm stuck." He looks down into his lap.

"You're getting ready to become a parent," Cheryl says. "So I'm really challenging you. What kind of person were you then, the person you wouldn't want your stepdaughters to meet now?"

"I didn't care about anything. I was drinking, using drugs. I just wanted to get my rocks off. It didn't matter with who or at what age. We try to talk to them, the kids, about that because, well, they're like my kids."

"I've seen you grow up," says Cheryl. "You came to us with an eff you, eff me, eff whatever attitude. Now you've got these two girls and you get to tell them, 'I was the 20-year-old boy who couldn't wait to get with some sweet little 15-year-old.' And you can tell them you didn't give a rip about that girl as long as she was gonna like you. I mean, you didn't force her, you didn't trick her.'"

"Well, I didn't trick her, and I did."

Cheryl smiles. "Thank you for correcting me."

"I tricked her because I had the nice car. I used what I had to my advantage when I wanted. Did I trick her into a dark alley? No. Was it mutual? Yes. But I had nice things. I was able to buy the drugs and alcohol. So yes, I did trick her. And I don't want them to get tricked—even if it's mutual. They're too young to know."

Later, she asks Rob if he would want to talk with his victim in person if he could.

"Honestly, no," he said. "I've got a good thing going right now, and I feel like if I heard that I just f-cked her life up, it would send me in this spiral."

"But that is what empathy is," Cheryl says. "Sitting across from your victim and listening to her and understanding how she feels." She tells him a story of a client whose neighbor found him on the sex-offender registry and confronted him in a grocery store. "You hurt a child," she yelled at him in the cereal aisle. This patient, Cheryl says, had a moment of self-realization. He dropped to his knees on the linoleum floor and said, "I used to be that man that did those awful things to the little girl and the amount of regret I have is sometimes unfathomable."

That, she argues, is truly taking responsibility for your actions.

"I would meet with her if she wanted to," Rob says. "I would just be scared. I just—it would be hard."

Cheryl has observed these sorts of conversations between assailant and survivor before at the request of both parties and believes they have the potential to be healing. Some victim advocates are skeptical. "Every time I saw my rapist, I threw up," says Anderson, who became a lawyer to defend victims of assault after a professor raped her in graduate school. "One of my clients was forced to talk to her attacker, and she became suicidal."

Sex-offender therapists and victim advocates are often on opposite sides on questions of crime, punishment and rehabilitation, though both ultimately hope to reduce sexual violence. The data on treatment is limited, but what there is points toward the value of therapy. While there are no recent, official statistics on national sex-offender recidivism, an overview of studies looking at the numbers in Connecticut, Alaska, Delaware, Iowa and South Carolina

> "It took me a long time to figure out that women really don't want to see that. They find it disgusting."
>
> **KEVIN,** convicted of indecent exposure

found that the rate is about 3.5% for sex offenders. That figure takes into account all crimes, including parole violations, not just sex crimes.

In 2010, research published in the *American Journal of Public Health* suggested that strict laws about registration, surveillance and residency can create a feeling of hopelessness and isolation that can actually facilitate re-offense. Several studies show that rehabilitative therapy, when paired with legal measures, can give offenders a sense of hope and progress and reduce recidivism rates by as much as 22%.

To many survivors and advocates, the experience of sexual assault is so horrifying that any recidivism risk is too high. "The emotional toll on the victim when it does happen is immeasurable," Anderson says. "Those nightmares last a lifetime." There are also far more victims than perpetrators, which increases the potential consequences of any re-offense. There are fewer than 1 million men on the sex-offender registries; sexual-assault victims number in the millions, according to the Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network, a survivor advocacy group.

Kevin, 68, one of the men in Cheryl and Jennifer's therapy group, traumatized hundreds of women. For 45 years, he was a compulsive exhibitionist. He would visit movie theaters, sit next to a woman and masturbate once the lights dimmed. He fantasized that the women were aroused by his behavior, though he now says, "They never actually were." He did this nearly every day, sometimes multiple times a day.

Kevin spent time in jail and psychiatric treatment centers but never went to prison. He managed to hold down a job as a clerk at a home-improvement store. Eventually, he stopped exposing himself, but not because of therapy. "I got older, my sex drive got lower. I got on a drug that basically is designed, if you take in high doses, to reduce your testosterone level and reduce your sex drive," he says. "I'm not sure that just therapy would have been able to break the cycle."

But Kevin says the sessions have helped him understand the motivation for his behavior. He now believes that he exposed himself in the hopes of making a human connection, however irrational that may sound. "When I would do it, it was like I was in a trance. I'm just absorbed in what I'm doing, trying to get a positive response, which I very seldom got," he says. "It took me a long time to figure out that women don't want to see that. They find it disgusting."

Whether you believe that therapy can redeem someone like Kevin may depend on whether you believe people can learn empathy. Researchers at the University of Cambridge published a study in March that suggests subjects' ability to empathize with others had little to do with their genetic makeup and more to do with how they were raised. Empathetic people are made, not born.

> "Sometimes these guys come in here complaining about having to drive a little further to get groceries because they're on the registry, and I'm like, 'To hell with you. Think of how your victim feels.'"
>
> **CHERYL,** therapist

Many of the men Cheryl and Jennifer counsel experienced emotional, physical or sexual abuse themselves when they were young. As the therapists often say in group, "Hurt people hurt people." At sentencing hearings, Cheryl testified to the likelihood that a sex offender can reform based on their history. But there are no guarantees.

In October, the Supreme Court will consider a complicated case challenging the federal laws that govern some sex offenders. The decision could allow hundreds of thousands of convicted offenders to move more easily across state lines and eventually remove their names from the sex-offender registry.

Even if that suit fails, civil rights proponents and victim advocates will likely confront each other again in the nation's highest court. A Colorado federal judge recently ruled that the state's sex-offender registry is unconstitutional. He said the list constitutes cruel and unusual punishment because it can subject these men to ostracism and violence at the hands of the public and that it fails to properly distinguish between different types of offenses.

The Colorado judge's decision ignited outrage. In response, attorneys general from six states wrote a joint amicus brief to overturn the ruling on appeal. In their brief, the attorneys general quote a judge from a separate case regarding sex offenders in Wisconsin: "Parents of young children should ask themselves whether they should worry that there are people in their community who have 'only' a 16% or an 8% probability of molesting young children."

In an attempt to resolve the tension between public safety and individual redemption, the law has settled on an imperfect compromise: sex offenders are inscribed on a registry, sometimes permanently. But they are also ordered to attend therapy to get better. The bad men are left in limbo.

Inside the small taupe house, Cheryl and Jennifer work to move through that limbo, one conversation at a time. As the bright winter sun sets and the office grows cold, a group therapy session comes to a close 45 minutes after it was supposed to. The men rise from the worn couch and pull on their coats and hats. One has to head home to meet his parole-mandated curfew. The man with the ankle bracelet needs to charge his battery. They file out slowly, loose floorboards creaking under their feet. Tomorrow, Cheryl and Jennifer might text some of these men to see how they're doing. They might call their wives or bosses or parole officers. They'll review the homework the men have turned in and prep for individual therapy sessions.

After those meetings end and the men leave the house for good, Cheryl and Jennifer may never know what becomes of them. Mostly, they hope they won't read about them in the news.

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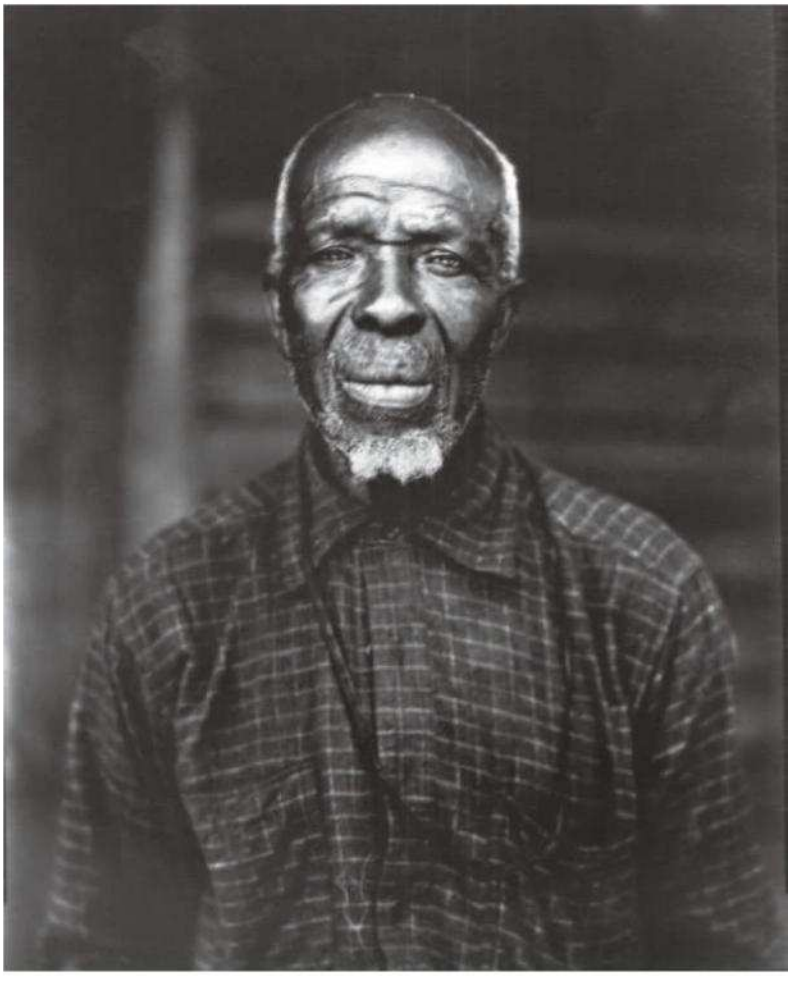
A witness to slavery is finally heard

By Lily Rothman



Kossola, also known as Cudjo Lewis, photographed in Africatown, Ala.

IN 1927, A MAN IN ALABAMA—THE LAST SURVIVOR of the last known ship ever to bring enslaved humans from Africa to the U.S.—received a visitor. A young anthropologist, working on her first big assignment, wanted to hear what he remembered of freedom, of bondage and of what came before. The aspiring scholar's name was Zora Neale Hurston.

Hurston returned several times, aiming to write a book about the man—called Kossola, with a variety of spellings, or Cudjo Lewis—but never found an interested publisher. Even as she became an esteemed writer, his story stuck with her. His yearning for home, undimmed by time, was wedged in her mind. Now, about 90 years later, the book she had wanted, a nonfiction account of her interaction with a man who lived a vanishing history, has finally been released with great fanfare as *Barracoon: The Story of the Last "Black Cargo."*

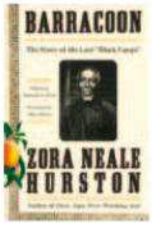
"There is a willingness of people at this point in time to look at this issue, to interrogate it, to question it, which is what we have to do," says Deborah G. Plant, the scholar who edited the new volume. "And we have to do it because people are still wrestling with this very fundamental issue about freedom, about humanity, about the right to live a life on one's own terms."

Kossola didn't get much of a chance to do that. He was only a teenager when his village in what is now Benin was raided and he was taken to the barracoon—the stockades in which captives waited for sale. He and more than 100 others were brought onto the schooner *Clotilda* for the Atlantic crossing, despite the fact that the U.S. had already banned participation in the global slave trade. Upon reaching Alabama in 1860, the *Clotilda,* now implicated in a crime, was burned after delivering its human cargo. This fact was hardly a secret (the New York *Times* covered the arrival in Mobile Bay), but the men behind the transaction went essentially unpunished.

Kossola and his fellows labored in bondage for about five years, until the Civil War, at the end of which they were freed. They were overjoyed but unmoored. They didn't fit in with African Americans they met, who looked down on them. They couldn't get passage back to Africa. So they worked to buy land from the man who had bought their bodies, and founded a settlement near Mobile, called Africatown. It was there that Hurston met Kossola.

This is perhaps the best-documented view of the workings of the transatlantic slave trade in history, says Sylviane Diouf, author of the 2007 book *Dreams of Africa in Alabama.* From Africatown's function as a living memory to the legal records of the *Clotilda* case, it can be seen from all angles—including, thanks in part to Hurston, the perspective of those who lived it. She wrote that *Barracoon* is Kossola's story "without the intrusion of interpretation," but the participant-observer anthropologist is a constant presence. When she sees that telling this story is too hard for him to go on, it is Hurston who allows the reader to feel with the man who describes himself as a "tree of two woods," part slave and part free.

"When you hear his story, you can't help but feel his humanity," says Plant. "That's what she was able to give us in this manuscript. It's what she gives us in all of her writing."



TIMELY, TIMELESS
In a foreword, Alice Walker writes that *Barracoon* both exposes a wound and offers a salve.

AT THEIR FIRST MEETING, Hurston was on assignment for the *Journal of Negro History.* But despite being a talented student who'd attracted the attention of top names in her field, she botched the job and turned in an article heavily plagiarized from a 1914 book by

a woman who had interviewed Kossola more than a decade prior. The misdeed wasn't caught until after she died, but she was unable to move on. She returned to Africatown and wrote *Barracoon*.

By the time she finished in 1931, the Great Depression had changed the equation for publishers; plus, Hurston, who kept working as an anthropologist, refused to compromise when asked not to write in dialect. Even as she flourished within the Harlem Renaissance, the manuscript languished. In the years leading up to her death in 1960, she faded from public awareness too.

While Alice Walker's 1973 discovery of Hurston's unmarked grave is often seen as the beginning of Hurston's own renaissance, credit for her literary rescue also goes to the late scholar Robert Hemenway, Plant explains. But in his 1977 literary biography of the author, Hemenway lumped the manuscript in with the disgraced journal article. (Others have found that in fact *Barracoon* is both original and largely accurate.) Later scholars tended to skip over it even as Hurston became a giant of American letters and 1937's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* is widely taught as a modern classic.

In 2016, the Zora Neale Hurston Trust decided to try again. "*Barracoon* seemed especially timely for release now, given that our country is continuing to focus on our racial divide and the consequences of slavery," trustee Lois Gaston told TIME in a statement. From there, making it work felt like a "necessity," says Tracy Sherrod, editorial director of Amistad, the HarperCollins imprint publishing the book.

The timing has indeed proved propitious. Last fall, on the PBS genealogy series *Finding Your Roots,* the musician Questlove learned that he descends from people brought over on the *Clotilda*. Then an Alabama reporter named Ben Raines found a wreck that looked to be the scuttled ship; it wasn't, but the story made national news. And although Sherrod points out that Kossola's relevance goes beyond any headlines, she also sees noteworthy links there: one of Kossola's sons is killed by law enforcement, and his story holds a message about recognizing humanity echoed by Black Lives Matter.

'Of all the millions transported from Africa to the Americas, only one man is left. He is called Cudjo Lewis ...'

ZORA NEALE HURSTON

The link is clear in Africatown too. Although the community is proud of its past—a new welcome center is in the works—it is still wrestling with historical justice. A bust of Kossola was vandalized a few years ago. A highway runs between the old church and its cemetery, a choice that Plant, the book's editor, feels says something about whether authorities recognized the history there.

The reason Hurston was a revolutionary social scientist, Plant says, goes beyond her innate understanding of people and stories. It also goes beyond what she went through as a black woman doing research in the Jim Crow South. Tied in with the twisted eugenics concepts that enthralled many intellectuals of her time was the idea that cultures could be "inferior." Black culture was less studied, but of course it did exist—even though those who carried it forward had been ripped from its roots—and Hurston had proof. "In maintaining the authenticity of the lore she collected," Plant says, "she revealed the humanity that was at the core of everything that was expressed in terms of the life and culture of African-American people."

THE EXPERIENCE most illuminated by *Barracoon* is the one suggested by its title. It was in the barracoon, Plant writes in her introduction, that Kossola was first "transfixed between two worlds." At every step, he wonders where he's going and why. All he knows is where he wants to be: home.

Even freedom doesn't mean he and his comrades can go back, and by then the old life was gone anyway, so they make "de Affica where dey fetch us." And though Kossola was never not pulled back by memory, the roots he put down allowed later generations to get a little bit closer to feeling at home, and the words he shared with Hurston showed why that matters. That's why a show like *Finding Your Roots* exists. It's why news about the *Clotilda* was closely watched. It's why, according to Donna Hawkins Mitchell, head of the Africatown Community Development Corp., the community is getting ready for an influx of visitors following the book's release.

Among the aphorisms Kossola leaves Hurston is this: "We say in de Affica soil, 'We live wid you while you alive, how come we cain live wid you after you die?'" Bury a man in the ground below his house and he will be at home forever. Those who make his home their own will be with him in turn. One of the lessons of Kossola's life is not to underestimate the value of the ground on which we stand, but place isn't all that matters when it comes to holding a person close. Another way to do it is to listen to that person's story and, years later, to remember. □

Hurston's history
A literary life, in brief

1891 Zora Neale Hurston is born in Alabama. She later claimed her birth year was 1901, to stay in school after she aged out.

1928 She graduates from Barnard College, where she studied anthropology. While in NYC, she becomes a figure in the Harlem Renaissance.

1937 She publishes *Their Eyes Were Watching God,* seen as her masterpiece, amid a flurry of creative and scholarly output. ▸

1942 Her memoir *Dust Tracks on a Road* is widely hailed, but she later returns to working odd jobs to support herself. ▸

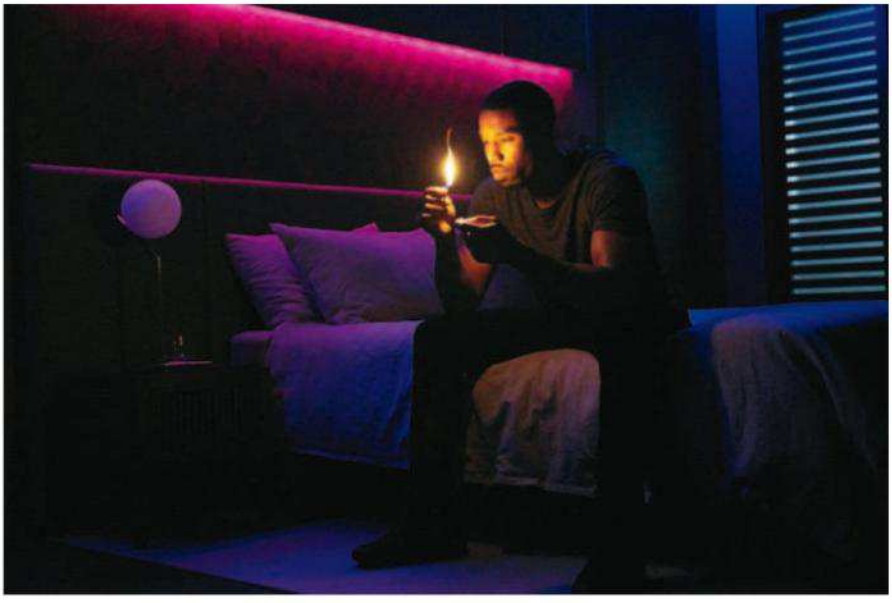
1960 After a stroke, Hurston dies in poverty and is buried in an unmarked grave in Florida.

PREVIOUS PAGES: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; THESE PAGES: KOSSOLA: ERIK OVERBEY COLLECTION/THE DOY LEALE MCCALL RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY/UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH ALABAMA

TELEVISION

Fahrenheit 451 doesn't quite catch fire

By Daniel D'Addario



Jordan plays a young fireman raised from childhood by his commanding officer

"THIS IS ALL YOU NEED TO KNOW. Anything else will make you sick. Crazy." So says Michael Shannon, playing a captain of a brigade of "firemen" in HBO's new film adaptation of *Fahrenheit 451*. He shows a group of schoolchildren emojified editions of the Bible, *To the Lighthouse* and *Moby-Dick*, text-length communiqués studded with pictorial symbols.

Ray Bradbury foresaw a great deal, but he couldn't have predicted the emoji era. The sci-fi author's 1953 novel depicts a world in which "firemen" ignite personal libraries so as to keep the population docilely addicted to low-calorie filmed entertainment. Here, the firemen's exploits play out on social media, with Shannon's and Michael B. Jordan's arsonists treated as local heroes on an omnipresent livestream. Shannon bites into the story with trademark relish, but Jordan, a charismatic movie star, is a bit wasted, with his character's evolution into a preserver of literature happening too rapidly to be credible.

Besides, Bradbury's *Fahrenheit* works better as a polemic than as a novel, with ideas stated clearly to the point of repetitiousness. One of those ideas was a disdain for television, which in the novel saps the intellect and creativity of all who watch. It's ironic, then, that television is the venue for this latest reimagining of his book—and that this version adds flash by the pound.

Some of that dazzle comes in the form of updates to the story that are attention-getting but far from timeless—and a bit underthought besides. For example, those who harbor books are punished through an official erasure of their identity. They become "eels," seemingly short for "illegals," a thudding literalization of what was always their plight. Their punishment, airing across social media, is met with cheers of "Time to burn for America again!"

It's fitting that a catchphrase quite that clunky would catch on in a post-literary society, but the aggressiveness with which the film grasps for a contemporary parallel—a rhyme of sorts with "Make America great again"—betrays a flaw in all sorts of entertainment at the moment. Because this film is being released during the Trump presidency, it necessarily must comment on the President; because it is being released in the social-media era, it must comment on social media.

Much art of late has become protest art that is directed at the forces that govern our lives. It's an understandable impulse, but it chokes off other potential insights and can make for incoherent stories that are fueled more by upset than reason. We're told at one point in the film that books were outlawed in part because they depict racism and sexism—a provocative plot point that doesn't jibe with the firemen's callousness, and one the film skitters away from. This *Fahrenheit 451* too often feels like an emojified version of its source material, cutting off anything more complex than an easy picture. Spend the time with a good book instead. ◻

What to stream now

By Daniel D'Addario

Kid Gorgeous

John Mulaney, the writer responsible for *SNL*'s viral Stefon character, has long seemed on the precipice of mega-notoriety—and with his new Netflix special, *Kid Gorgeous,* he takes a major step forward. He filmed the special at Radio City Music Hall, a capacious stage that he commands, wielding the long

TELEVISION

Showtime's portrait of an addict

The Patrick Melrose novels, by the British writer Edward St. Aubyn, depict the life of a dissolute man as he goes from squandering his promise to having squandered it. Patrick is born into high social status but trained from youth that to strive is unbecoming; instead, he plunges into addiction, finding redemption slowly.

Benedict Cumberbatch, the primly composed actor, makes for a perfect Patrick. In Showtime's remarkable, decades-traversing new miniseries *Patrick Melrose,* Cumberbatch's boarding-school anticharisma neatly coincides with a character who holds the world at arm's length. And the actor's calculatedness, known to fans of *Sherlock,* looks radically different as he counts the minutes, and even the seconds, until his next hit, or whiles away the hours after giving drugs up. His is a soulful, careening tale told with both novelistic sweep and deeply personal emotion. —*D.D.*

JORDAN: HBO; MULANEY: NETFLIX; MELROSE: SHOWTIME; LITTLE WOMEN: PBS

TELEVISION

A classic tale of sisterhood reimagined once again

Louisa May Alcott's beloved 1868 tale *Little Women* will be re-envisioned for the small screen this Mother's Day in a three-hour PBS miniseries starring Angela Lansbury as cantankerous Aunt March and *Big Little Lies'* Kathryn Newton as the spoiled, vindictive Amy. The new take joins a long list of adaptations with various virtues to recommend them. Here's a look at the many variations on a classic.

—*Kate Samuelson*

Maya Hawke, center, takes on the role of Jo in the new miniseries

MOST MEMORABLE JO: *LITTLE WOMEN* (1933)
My Fair Lady director George Cukor's *Little Women*—the first screen adaptation with sound—starred a 26-year-old Katharine Hepburn as the plucky Josephine "Jo" March. Hepburn's lively performance was praised by critics—and by the actor herself. Later in her career, she challenged "anyone to be as good [at playing Jo] as I was."

MOST STAR-STUDDED: *LITTLE WOMEN* (1994)
With Winona Ryder as Jo, Susan Sarandon as Marmee, Claire Danes as Beth, an 11-year-old Kirsten Dunst as Amy and a teenage Christian Bale as love interest Laurie, Australian director Gillian Armstrong's 1994 film adaptation boasts the most high-profile cast—and three Oscar nominations, to boot.

MOST FAITHFUL VERSION: *LITTLE WOMEN* (1970)
Nine 25-minute episodes comprise this relatively low-budget BBC miniseries. Far from the most popular adaptation—viewers were quick to poke fun at the sisters' poor attempts at New England accents—this retelling was lauded for sticking faithfully to the novel, covering almost every plotline.

MOST MUSICAL: *LITTLE WOMEN* OPERA (1998)
American composer Mark Adamo's sentimental, operatic adaptation premiered to critical acclaim at the Houston Grand Opera in 1998. The production, which focuses on Jo coming to terms with change, has been recorded and televised by broadcasters including PBS and repeatedly revived for the stage.

MOST DRAMATIC LICENSE: *LITTLE WOMEN* (1978)
This three-hour miniseries, with Meredith Baxter (later known as the mother on *Family Ties*) as eldest sister Meg, was criticized for watering down the classic. But the cast was praised for their accurate portrayals of the March family and friends, and the miniseries took home Emmy Awards for art direction and cinematography.

MOST DIVISIVE: *THE MARCH SISTERS AT CHRISTMAS* (2012)
Christmas isn't Christmas without a cheesy movie, and Lifetime's 2012 TV movie adaptation perfectly fits the bill. This modern spin on the story divided critics: one called it a "flimsy and charmless update of the literary classic," while another described it as a "pleasant surprise."

cord of his microphone like a lion tamer's whip. Mulaney has a self-consciously odd manner, telling jokes rooted in linguistic tricks and flights of fancy. A long extended metaphor about the Trump era, and how it resembles a horse having been set loose in a hospital, nears its breaking point but never quite falls apart; better still is an extended recollection of a school assembly, told with remarkable memory of a kid's view of the world.

Netflix has become—among many other things—the dominant player in filmed stand-up, with specials from the likes of Dave Chappelle, Amy Schumer and Chris Rock. But familiarity inhibits the feeling of discovery; we know Schumer and Rock so well that at this point we feel the punch line coming before it does. With slightly less wattage but as much creativity and ingenuity as anyone else working, Mulaney uses his special to make a case for himself as a rising member of comedy's A-list.

HOW TO WATCH
John Mulaney: Kid Gorgeous at Radio City is streaming on Netflix now

MOVIES

Forbidden lovers seek grace in *Disobedience*

By Stephanie Zacharek

Weisz, McAdams and Nivola navigate tradition and desire in Disobedience

ON OUR WORST DAYS, WE MAY FEEL like we live in an unjustly repressive world. On our best ones, we marvel at how much freedom we really have. *Disobedience*—from the astute Chilean filmmaker Sebastián Lelio, director of the Oscar-winning *A Fantastic Woman*—suggests that the truth lies somewhere in between. Rachel Weisz plays Ronit, a successful New York photographer who's called home to London after the death of her father, a beloved and respected Orthodox rabbi. Ronit has distanced herself from her extended family, and it has in turn disavowed her. When she arrives, she's met with cool suspicion, though her father's favorite pupil, Dovid (Alessandro Nivola), practically a family member, tries to show her some kindness.

As if Ronit's jumbled feelings of grief and estrangement aren't enough, she learns that Dovid has married one of her old school friends, Esti (Rachel McAdams), and the reconciliation between the two women introduces a wrenching complication. As teenagers, they'd been in love. The community caught wind of their romance, and its disapproval was predictably deafening.

Disobedience, based on a novel by Naomi Alderman, cuts deeper than your standard forbidden-love story, largely because the actors are so attuned to their characters' anguish. It's one thing to defy the expectations of your religion. But rejecting it means turning away from those you care about. Weisz and McAdams play that tension with a piercing sweetness: these women circle each other warily, each cautious about disrupting the pattern of the other's life—though if patterns are what give us comfort, they can also make us feel intensely lonely. Weisz's Ronit is assertive yet dreamily wistful, a woman who only appears to have figured out what she wants. McAdams' Esti is more practical but also wilder at heart—she makes you see how that helmet of a wig she has to wear is both a restriction and a kind of protection, armor against feelings she's not sure she can bear.

Lelio is deeply keyed in to women's stories. He's currently remaking his wonderful 2013 Spanish-language film *Gloria,* about a 50-something woman navigating the dating scene, with Julianne Moore. *Disobedience* is, of course, mostly about women, but what about the guy? Nivola is one of those stealth actors who adds a brushstroke (or more) of grace to every film in which he appears. As the deeply traditional husband Dovid, he taps the ways oppressiveness and generosity can intermingle. In *Disobedience,* three people reckon with the cost and meaning of freedom. Everybody pays. But if it were free, what would it be worth? □

MOVIES

Binoche makes *Sunshine* glow

As we clamor to celebrate female filmmakers in the U.S., let's not forget those who have been working for years in France. Claire Denis *(Beau Travail, Friday Night)* is one of the best of those, and her latest film, *Let the Sunshine In,* is a multifaceted, bittersweet delight.

A superb Juliette Binoche plays Isabelle, a middle-aged artist who has split from—though still occasionally sleeps with—her longtime partner and is wondering what her next act might be. Neither a moody, preening actor (Nicolas Duvauchelle) nor the oafish married banker (Xavier Beauvois) who tells her, "You're charming, but my wife is extraordinary" deserve her. On the most basic level, *Let the Sunshine In* is a wry, deeply enjoyable picture about the cursed horror of dating and how desire drives us even when we wish it wouldn't. But Denis and Binoche go even further: Binoche's face, its radiance both celestial and lived-in, is itself an elegant question, an amalgam of *Who am I? What do I want?* and *Where can I find it?* The eternal asking of those questions, frustrating as they can be, is their own answer. —S.Z.

Binoche seeks answers to timeless questions

POP CHART
***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

Prince William and Kate Middleton released **the first official photos of their newborn** third child, Prince Louis.

Adele celebrated her 30th birthday by **dressing up as Rose from the movie *Titanic*** for a party themed after the 1997 classic romance.

LOVE IT
LEAVE IT

A dairy farm in New Jersey has **released a pork-roll ice-cream flavor** that combines the essence of French toast with the processed pork product Taylor Ham.

DISOBEDIENCE: BLEECKER STREET; LET THE SUNSHINE IN: SUNDANCE SELECTS; PRINCE LOUIS: GETTY IMAGES; ICE CREAM: WINDY BROW FARMS; PUTH: GETTY IMAGES

MUSIC

Charlie Puth comes into his own on *Voicenotes*

CHARLIE PUTH HAS SOMETHING TO prove. On his sophomore album *Voicenotes,* out May 11, the 26-year-old singer is out to set the record straight that he's neither a one-hit wonder nor an off-the-rack artist. So Puth is growing up and getting real, letting his background in jazz and the influence of slick '90s funk and R&B shine through. The result is a 13-track pop collection that documents disillusionment and nostalgia alike. It's retro, bittersweet and undeniable as sonic catnip.

Born in New Jersey and educated at the prestigious Berklee College of Music, Puth discovered at a young age that he had perfect pitch. He found modest attention in his late teens with a comedic YouTube channel, but his career really picked up when his song covers were discovered by Ellen DeGeneres, who invited him on her show and signed him to her label. In 2015, he recorded the soul-inspired "Marvin Gaye" with Meghan Trainor and collaborated with rapper Wiz Khalifa on "See You Again," a tear-jerking tribute to the late *Fast and the Furious* actor Paul Walker that dominated the charts. His debut album, *Nine Track Mind,* soon followed.

But where it was difficult to locate Puth's identity in his debut, *Voicenotes* commits him to a signature sound—not least of all because he wrote and produced every track. The songs layer his hummed falsettos over bouncy synths and spartan beats. Lead singles "Attention" and "How Long" have already gone platinum, with his breathy vocals foregrounded over catchy bass lines.

COLLABORATOR
Puth has co-written songs for acts like Jason Derulo, Pitbull and Liam Payne.

With tracks like "Patient" and "Done for Me," using an assist from R&B up-and-comer Kehlani, Puth mines various modes of the retro slow jam, all while spelling out the letdowns of modern love. And he features several big names, including Boyz II Men on the sugary "If You Leave Me Now" and folk icon James Taylor for an uplifting collaboration dedicated to the Parkland survivors.

But it's album opener "The Way I Am" that acts as a mission statement. A smooth, jazzy number, it's both a blustery challenge and a quiet apology. "You can either hate me or love me, but that's just the way I am," he sings with a shrug. Then, almost in a whisper, he second-guesses himself: "Everybody's trying to be famous, and I'm just trying to find a place to hide." It may not be his most subtle songwriting, but Puth's earnest desire—to be liked, loved and, above all, respected as an artist—elevates him to exactly where he wants to be. —RAISA BRUNER

On his second album, Puth zeroes in on a sharper point of view

Francis Ford Coppola The filmmaker on making art in Hollywood, immigration and going to Donald Trump's school

Wine, hotels, films are all businesses in which you've had success. What has one taught you about the other? It's all show business. Show business is a little derogatory, but it really is what it is. And even to the Greeks in the great golden age of Sophocles, it was still show business. The fact that I've not been stuck in one of those fields has given me a perspective about how things that are common in one but unknown in the other might be useful. It's a sort of self-refreshment.

When young filmmakers go to you for advice, what do they ask and how do you answer? They all ask, "How do I get started?" And I always ask them, "Who do you want to be? Do you want to be Steven Spielberg, or do you want to be Jim Jarmusch?" Because they're very different professions. Although Spielberg has made beautiful, artistic pictures as good as any, he had an instinct for what the big public would want. Whereas Jarmusch, he makes these little art films, and they don't make a ton of money, but they're also very beautiful. So you gotta decide, Are you gonna shoot for that big studio picture or something else?

How do you see technology changing the movie industry? Soon the whole movie industry will be owned by companies like Amazon and Apple. For two reasons: One, they got the money. They can buy it. Two, they need the content. Because, believe me, social media is not lasting content. The trouble is that they're using their algorithms to categorize. I don't think art can be made that way. I have said before, You cannot make art without risk any more than you can make babies without sex. What they're trying to do is take the risk out of making movies. Risk is a necessary element to making art. But I may be wrong.

"YOU CANNOT MAKE ART WITHOUT RISK ANY MORE THAN YOU CAN MAKE BABIES WITHOUT SEX"

Among other things, *The Godfather* is about immigrant aspiration and assimilation in America. What do you think about the conversation the U.S. is having about immigration now? If America is great, it's because it was a country of immigrants. Even the Native American is an immigrant. So to turn our backs to immigrants today is more than absurd. The state of California, if we didn't have Mexico, we couldn't have had a California. Today what the Mexican people contribute to the state is so profound. Our wineries fly the Mexican flag along with the California flag and the U.S. flag. To many of our employees, it makes them feel appreciated, and they should be.

A lot of your films are influenced by fiction. Is there any book you've wanted to work from that you haven't? *Spring Snow* by Yukio Mishima. It's the first book of the tetralogy the Sea of Fertility. It's a story so tantalizingly intriguing, and it deals with a very human thing: how we have this strange wiring where we reject the thing that we love, and the consequence of rejecting that, having to live with the fact that you did that. We do that all the time. We do that with our families, we do that with our children, with our parents.

Is there a movie in the family saga taking place in the White House right now? Well, I know Donald Trump. I went to the same military school as him. He was a 13-year-old rich kid going to a boarding school. Over the years, I must say he really didn't impress me as being as awful as he's evolving. It makes me wonder why that's happening. What they say in the never-ending news cycle is that these are psychological insecurities causing bad qualities to come out. He wasn't such a bad guy 20 years ago. But I never knew him really well. —MATT VELLA

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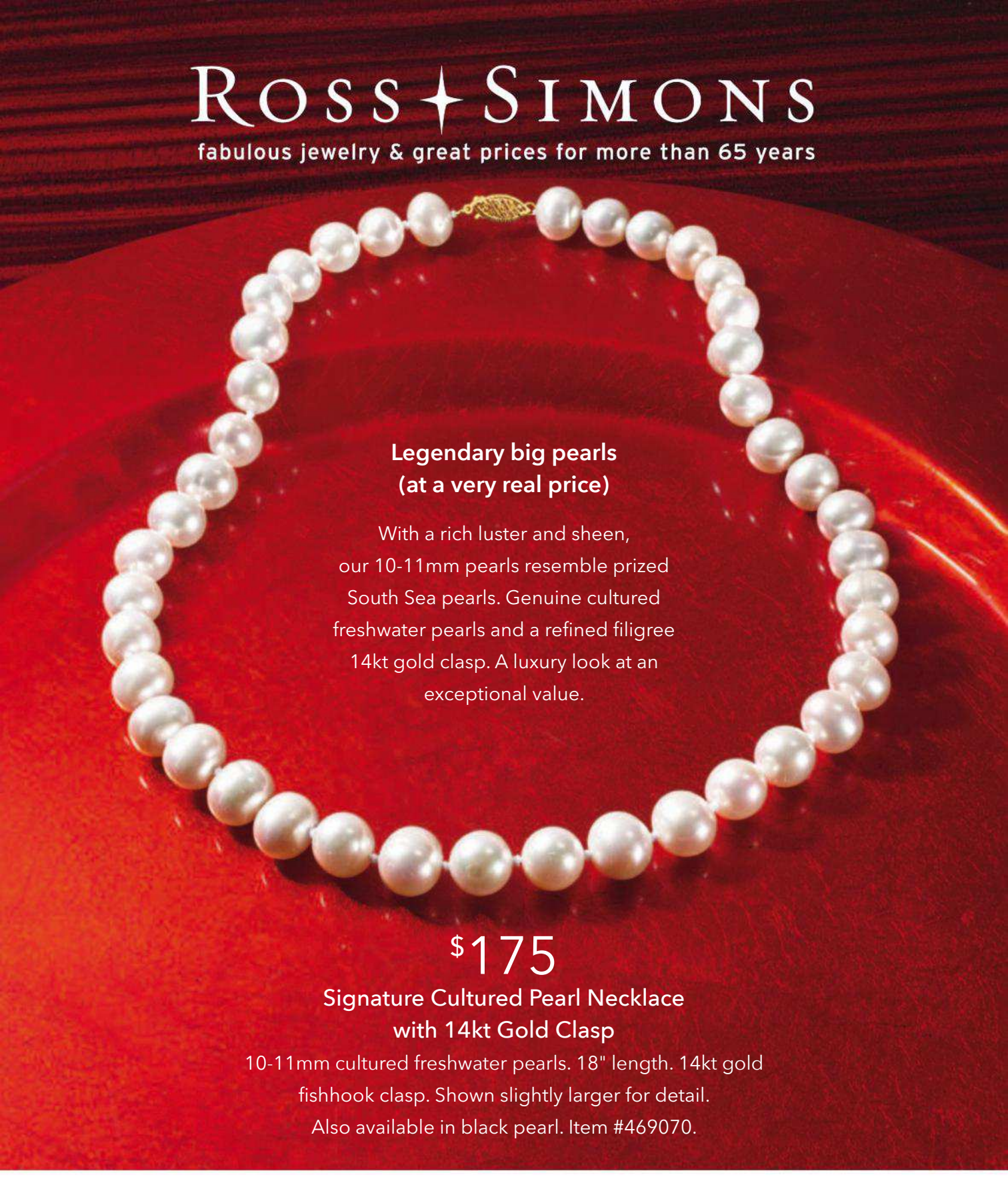

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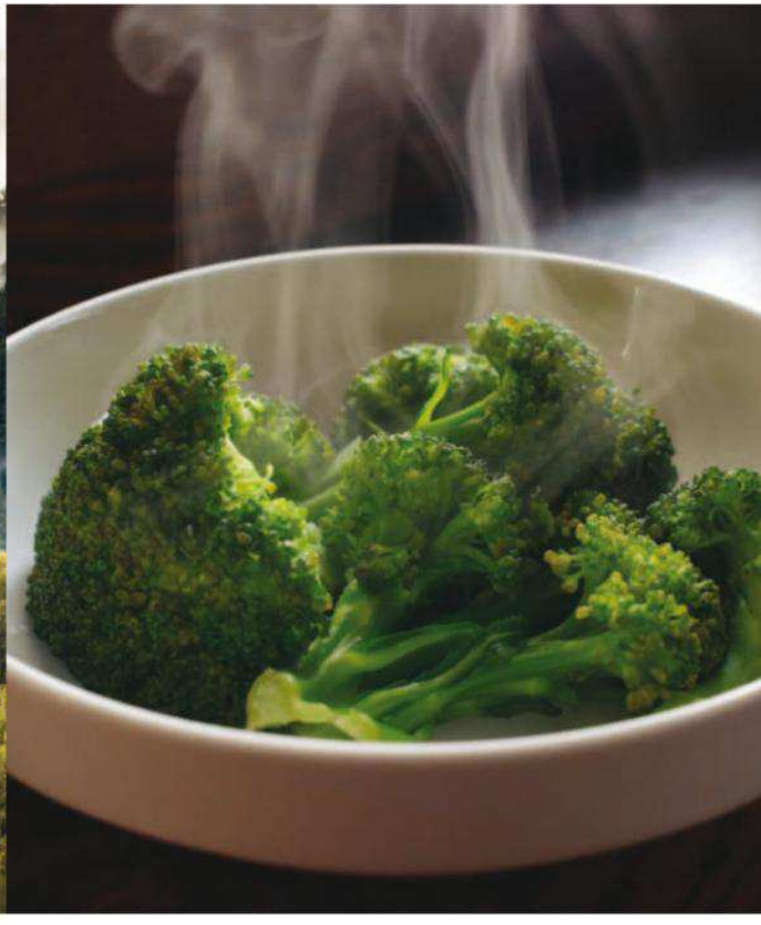

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